JAMES H. ENGLISH

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THE ALTERNATION OF H AND F IN OLD SPANISH

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THE ALTERNATION OF H AND F IN OLD SPANISH

BY

JAMES H. ENGLISH

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREHENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

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TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

A few years ago the late Professor Henry Alfred Todd of Columbia University suggested to me as a suitable subject for a doctoral dissertation a study of the conditions of aspiration in Old French and Old Spanish. After a few months of research and reflection, it became evident that the Spanish side of the problem offered a more fertile field for investigation than the French side and was itself a sufficiently ambitious undertaking.

After my study had become limited to the Spanish field, it came under the direction of Professor Federico de Onís to whom I owe grateful recognition for his helpful criticism and many valuable suggestions. To Professor H. F. Muller I am indebted for aid in details concerning the Vulgar Latin. To Professor Arthur Livingston I extend thanks for his kindness in reading the text and making valuable suggestions for the improvement of its form.

I am especially indebted to Visiting Professor Américo Castro for advice on the selection of the documents to be used and for first hand information on the phonetic features of the modern Basque. To my friend, Mr. Antonio Pelaez, I wish to express my thanks for information on the present day phenomenon of *h* for *f* in some of the dialects of Colombia and for his kindly interest in this study from the outset.

To my colleague, Dr. Pauline Taylor of New York University, I extend thanks for her important aid in reading the proofs.

J. H. E.

New York City,
January, 1926.

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INTRODUCTION

In Old Spanish the etymological *f*, e. g. in *facere>facer* is preserved in the written language until the end of the fifteenth century when it is replaced by *h* which is a real aspirate in the sixteenth century. The change from *f* to *h*, e. g. from the *f* of *facere* to the *h* of *hacer* presents at least three important questions to be answered: (1) What caused the *f* to become *h* in the spoken language? (2) When did the change from *f* to *h* occur in the spoken language? (3) Where did it occur? In our discussion on "the loss of the *f*" we present reasons why we do not regard the use of *h* for *f* in Spanish as a contribution from the Latin or the Gothic or the Arabic, and why it may not properly be regarded as a natural phonetic change. Following clues given by H. Schuchardt and Menéndez Pidal, we attempt to prove that the use of *h* for *f* is a contribution to Spanish from the Iberian-Basque. Such a view is justified by three facts: (1) The Iberian-Basque did not have the *f*. (2) The only two important Romance languages which have lost the *f* are Spanish and Gascon spoken in territory contiguous to the Basque. (3) The earliest cases of the *h* for *f*, twelfth and thirteenth century cases, occur in documents which originated in territory contiguous to the Basque (Santander, northern Burgos, Logroño). So much for the cause and original place of the phenomenon of *h* for *f*.

In an earnest effort to throw some new light upon the probable time of the change from *f* to *h*, I have examined the work of A. Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les Inscriptions*, as well as many texts of the Spanish Low Latin of the Middle Ages. In none of these sources is the phenomenon of *h* for *f* revealed. In the spoken language the use of *h* for *f* may, nevertheless, date from very remote times even though it is not reflected in any of the Latin monuments of Spain. That it existed as early as the twelfth century in the speech of regions contiguous to the Basque domain is proven (cf. pp. 35-42).

It happens that our most authentic sources of information on the primitive languages of Spain are the Spanish documents of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. In that valuable collection, *Documentos Lingüísticos de España (Reino de Castilla)* by Menéndez Pidal, we have 372 notarial texts representing nascent Spanish from Santander in the north to Granada in the south. Upon these documents as a firm foundation this study is based. Without them it would be practically impossible, for in ancient Spain as in modern Spain the pronunciation differed from one region to another. These differences are so reflected in the documents mentioned above and others (cited elsewhere) that we are able to designate a primitive domain of the *h* (Santander, N. Burgos, Logroño), in which the *f* was more or less unknown in the spoken language, and a domain of the *f* (León, Segovia, Soria, Aragón, Toledo, Andalucía, etc.), in which the *h* was more or less unknown. Ancient Spain seems to have stood thus divided into *h*-territory and *f*-territory from

very remote times until about the end of the thirteenth century. The reciprocal speech relation which existed between these two contiguous and phonetically different speech territories (the *h*-territory and the *f*-territory) explains many vacillating forms, equally ancient, which occur side by side in the earliest Old Spanish texts, e. g. *hata, ata, fata,* from the Arabic *ḥatta; honta, onta, fonta,* from the Germ. *haunida.* In the *h*-territory the Arabic and Germanic aspiration was preserved and sometimes properly represented by *h* (see p. 69). In the *f*-territory the foreign aspiration sometimes disappeared; sometimes it was represented by *f*. The development of the foreign aspirate in ancient Spain is studied pp. 33-62, a chapter which we believe will contribute to a better understanding of the history of Arabic and Germanic aspirates in Old Spanish.

It has seemed worth while to present a collection of words of Latin origin which, due to the varying aspirate conditions, show the aspiration represented sometimes by *h,* sometimes by *f*, and sometimes lost (cf. pp. 119-131): e. g. *hallar, allar, fallar,* from *adflāre; hinojos, inojos, finojos,* from *genuculos,* etc.

The ancient variants of the modern *he (he aquí,* p. 131): *he, e, fe,* etc. reveal a history similar to that of *hata, ata, fata.* They were not presented by the side of *hata, ata, fata,* etc. because they do not occur in the localized documents used to determine the original domain of the *h* and that of the *f*.

While this study has been in completed form and in the course of publication, there has appeared the 1925

edition of the *Manual de Gramática Histórica Española* by R. Menéndez Pidal. In his new edition (as in the ed. of 1918, see p. 103), Menéndez Pidal regards the use of *h* for *f* as a contribution to Spanish from the Iberian-Basque and cites (p. 102) from sources which were not available for this study cases of the *h* for *f* as early as the eleventh century.

J. H. E.

January, 1926.

PART I

I. The Loss of the F

In modern Spanish we see modified and perpetuated the Latin of the soldiers, colonists, and tradesmen who settled on the Iberian peninsula toward the end of the third century B. C. The basis of the Spanish lexicon is the ancient Vulgar Latin, with certain accretions from Ecclesiastical Latin, Germanic, Arabic, French, Italian, and other sources. In its syntax and morphology — and to a great extent in its phonology — it is the distinctively Latin features which are modified and developed in Spanish.

Since Spanish derives from the Vulgar Latin, we are inclined to seek in Latin sources for causes underlying the loss of the *f* e. g. in *facere*>*hacer*. Our information[1] on the spoken Latin from which the Romance languages derive comes from the following sources: the statements of the grammarians; forms occurring in inscriptions[2] and non-Classic documents;[3] the occasional colloquialisms in the writings of cultivated authors; glossaries[4] and lists of popular speech forms;[5] the subsequent developments of the Romance languages. Evidence from the last named source is especially important and reliable.

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[1] W. Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.*
[2] A. Carnoy, *Inscr.*
[3] H. Schuchardt, *Vokal.*
[4] *Gloss. Reichenau.*
[5] *Appendix Probi.*

The *f* is described as a labiodental spirant by Terentianus Maurus in the second century A. D. (L.* 98):

> imum superis dentibus adprimens labellum spiramine levi.

The Latin grammarians speak of an alternation of *h* and *f*. In early Latin the *h* and the *f* doubtless belonged to different dialects. According to Terentius Scaurus (fl. 2nd. cent. A. D.), *h* for the standard *f* is Faliscan. Sommer presents the Faliscan forms[6] for the standard *f*-forms (196):

Neben ursprünglichem *f* steht *h* in

haba=faba
hordus=fordus
hebris=febris

According to Velius Longus (fl. 2nd. cent. A. D.), *f* for the standard *h* is Sabine (S. 195). Sommer presents the Sabine forms[7] for the standard *h*-forms:

Nebenformen mit *f* für normales *h* in
faedus, fedus=haedus
fircus=hircus
fordeum=hordeum
folus=holus.....
fostis=hostis

---

[6] Cf. Schuchardt, I. 89. "Die Falisker sagten *haba* fur *faba*."
[7] Cf. Schuchardt, I. 89. "charakteristisch für das sabinische Latein ist der Gebrauch des *f* für anlautendes *h*, z. B., *fircus=hircus, faedus=haedus, fasena=harena*."
* Abbreviations are explained in the bibliography at the end of the book.

The forms cited above suffice to show that ancient Latin had an alternation of *h* and *f* similar to that in Spanish. The phenomenon in Latin, however, never took on such extended proportions as it did in Spanish. Lindsay says (56):

> There is, however, no reason to believe that in Latin itself these forms were used, though they may have been heard in the country districts about Rome, where dialectal influence often strongly asserted itself.

A most reliable proof that the phenomenon of *h* for *f* never became dominant in Latin is the fact that the *f* has been preserved in the Romance languages generally.[8] This fact constitutes evidence opposed to a view that the *f* carried to Spain by the Romans in 206 B. C. was an aspirate and that the *h* for *f* in Spanish is, therefore, merely a modification and continuation of a Latin use of *h* for *f*. In view of the general preservation of the *f* in Romance, there is no ground for regarding the phenomenon of *h* for *f* in Spanish as a descendant from the Latin. As for the Latin *h*, e. g. in *habēre*, it was silent in current spoken Latin probably as early as the middle of the third century B. C. (L. 53), therefore, before the Roman conquest of Spain. The Latin *h*[9] never sounded in any of the Romance

[8] Outside of Spanish and Gascon, the cases of *h* for *f* are isolated and rare. Nyrop (*Gram.* I. 39) cites the Fr. *hors* from *foris*. H. Schuchardt (III. 37) cites for Sardinian dialects: *hachere*< *facere*, *hogu*<*focus*, *hizu*<*filius*. Meyer-Lübke (*It. Gram.* 172) cites for Calabrian dialects: *hemena* for *femena*, *hate* for *fate*.

[9] G. Paris, Rom. XI. 399.

languages. Latin, therefore, so far as we can ascertain, contributed no aspirate sounds to Spanish. In view of this fact we conclude that the use of *h* for *f* originated on the Iberian peninsula.

Is it a primitive or is it a late development? In the opinion of Meyer-Lübke it is late. He believes that it did not exist before the invasion of the Visigoths in 412 nor during the period of their domination 412-711. In support of his view of the situation, he points to a loss of the Gothic *h*. e. g. in Got. *Harjamunds* > Sp. *Arcemundo,* as constituting evidence that the *Iberi-Romani* had no sound corresponding to the Gothic *h*. He says (*Einf.* 238):

> Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Iberoromanen in der Westgotenzeit noch keinen Laut besessen haben konnten, der dem germ.*h* nahestand, und dass der Wandel von *f* zu *h* erst nach der Westgotenzeit eingetreten ist.

In his study of the *Portugaliae monumenta historica*,[10] a collection of 952 documents of the period 775-1100, he cites a great number of personal-names of Gothic origin which show a complete loss of the Gothic *h*. In the list of *harji*-names, from *harjis* 'army', stand (p. 34): *Argebadus, Argifredrus, Argifonsus*. In the list of *hilde*-names from *hilds* 'combat', stand (p. 37): *Ildefredus, Eldefredus, Ildericus, Elduario,* and many others. These are Portuguese developments from the Gothic. So far as we know,

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[10] Cf. *Die altportugiesischen Personennamen germanischen Ursprungs,* in *Sitzungsber. Akad. in Wien,* Phil.-hist. Klasse, CXLIX., pp. 1-102.

the phenomenon of *h* for *f* has never existed in Portugal. A list of Spanish and Portuguese names of Gothic origin, showing a loss of the Gothic *h* is presented by J. Jungfer.[11] The Old Spanish *Ildefonso*[12] from *Ildefonsus* is a *hilde*-name and shows an early loss of the Gothic *h*. Meyer-Lübke's theory that the *Iberi-Romani* were without the *h* is to some extent supported, and yet the few Spanish names of Gothic origin, showing a loss of the Gothic *h*, do not prove that the *Iberi-Romani* were without the *h* in every part of Spain. It can be viewed that the phenomenon of *h* for *f* did not exist in Toledo where the Visigoths had their capital[13] and that it did exist in some other part of Spain just as to-day the *h* is silent in Madrid and pronounced in the popular speech of Santander and East Asturias. Since there is no proof of a complete territorial disappearance of the Gothic *h*, it can be reasoned that the phenomenon of *h* for *f* is primitive so far as any evidence from the development of the Gothic *h* is concerned.

At this point it becomes necessary to differentiate between the Gothic *h* which may have survived in some part of Spain and the more ancient Germanic *h* which never reached Spain. The latter *h* disappeared from the Germanic words which were incorporated early into the Vulgar Latin spoken in the regions of the Rhine and the Danube

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[11] See *Über Personennamen in den Ortsnamen Spaniens und Portugals*, Berlin, 1902; also D. Antonio Martínez Pajares, *Apellidos y nombres de lugar Hispano-Marroquíes*, Madrid, 1917. See especially pp. 72-93. *Apellidos y nombres de lugar de origen germánico.*

[12] *La Vida de San Ildefonso* in B. A. E. LVII, 323.

[13] Cf. Altamira, I, 200.

because the Vulgar Latin did not have the *h*. The Germanic words in which the *h* had formerly existed were passed on to Spain through the Latin without their etymological *h* (B. 141). The early borrowing of words from the Germanic by the Latin has been studied by J. Brüch in his *Der Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf das Vulgärlatein*. Brüch cites (p. 87) as incorporated into the Latin of the Empire before the year 400 A. D.: *hardjan, haribergõn, harpa, helma hŏsa*. These Germanic loan-words[14] in the Romance languages represent a period earlier than the Germanic domination of Gaul in the fifth century and, therefore, the *h* disappeared even in the north of Gaul[15] where in that early period the Latin — and not yet the Germanic — dominated (B. 141). When these Germanic loan-words in the Vulgar Latin reached Spain, they developed according to the phonetic laws of the Spanish Vulgar Latin: O. Sp. *yelmo*<Germ. *helm*, showing the *h* lost before the word reached Spain and the *ĕ* diphthongized to *ie*. For very evident phonetic reasons O. Sp. *yelmo* cannot come from the Gothic *hilms*. O. Sp. *uesa*<Germ. *hŏsa*, showing the *h* lost before the word reached Spain and the *ŏ* diphthongized to *ue*. It is clear

[14] M. Pidal, *Gram.* p. 25, places the whole number of Germanic words in Spanish at a bit less than one hundred "un centenar escaso." Of these only those with an original *h* and *f* concern this study. M. Pidal (op. cit.) regards practically all the Germanic words in Spanish as having come to Spain early thru the Latin.

[15] Brüch (p. 142) points out that the Germ. *h* which was originally lost in the Vulgar Latin of the north of Gaul was later reintroduced in many words as a result of the strong *h*-influence of the Franks.

that O. Sp. *uesa* cannot come from the Gothic *húsa*. We see, therefore, that it is not a Gothic *h* that has disappeared from these Old Spanish words of Germanic origin, but a more ancient Germanic *h* which never sounded in Spain and which proves nothing in regard to the aspirate conditions of ancient Spain.

It is worthy of note that Spanish represents an earlier phase of the Latin than does French; and differences which had existed between the Latin of Spain and that of Gaul and Italy before the fifth century became gradually more marked after that time (B. 4). The Germanic occupation of Gaul and Spain in the fifth century interrupted the intercourse of these countries with Italy and cut off earlier reciprocal relations which had made for uniformity in the spoken Latin of the Empire. Meyer-Lübke states the case as follows (G. I. 6):

> A côté de la langue latine écrite, fixée dans ses formes pendant des siècles, il y avait à Rome la langue de la conversation, employée par les lettrés et particulièrement par le peuple, laquelle, avec le temps et l'extension du parler latin, s'éloigna de plus en plus de la langue écrite. Les différences locales, peut-être minimes à l'origine, s'accrurent lorsque l'empire romain s'écroula, que les relations cessèrent d'être réciproques et qu'à la place d'un empire homogène il y eut des états isolés et indépendants les uns des autres. C'est ce qui arriva vers l'an 600, et c'est à cette date que commencent les nations romanes.

Unfortunately we cannot examine the spoken Latin of Spain in this early period and thereby trace possible de-

velopments of the phenomenon of *h* for *f* because the Vulgar Latin was never written intentionally. Even the most unlearned stone-cutter avoided writing his own speech and imitated as best he could the Classical Latin in his carving of the inscriptions,[16] thus making them less useful for us.

Before leaving the Visigoths we may say with certainty that even with their aspirate *h*, they played no part in bringing about the change from *f* to *h* in Spanish. They had the *f* in their own speech and it was the equivalent of the *f* in the Vulgar Latin (B. 139). Therefore, it is safe to conclude that invaders who had in their speech the *f* would not change the *f* of a native language however dominant they became. The invasion of Gaul by the Franks in the fifth century presents a parallel phonetic case. The Franks introduced a vigorously aspirated *h* into the *gallo-roman* in the fifth century, but no change from *f* to *h* in French exists as a result of their influence (N. 439). No change from *f* to *h* in Italian[17] or French is attributed to the influence of the Visigoths who, before entering Spain, lived for nearly two centuries in intimate contact with the Romans, either as allies or as enemies, in Dacia, in Moesia, in Italy and in Gaul.[18] The *f* in the Gothic stands as evidence that the change from *f* to *h* in Spanish is not a Gothic contribution.

In the year 711 the Moors entered Spain and were soon

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[16] Cf. Carnoy, *Insc.* p. 11.

[17] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gram.* 172.

[18] Cf. E. Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages,* 1916, pp. 24-34.

masters of practically the entire country except the small Asturian kingdom in the northwest.[19] Reciprocal speech relations were always active between the Christians and the Moors, for at no time during the eight centuries of the Moorish sojourn in Spain were the two peoples entirely separated from one another. In the early years of the reconquest political and matrimonial relations began between the sovereign families of the two religions and even among the lower classes, life, apart from the battle-camps, was often cordial and intimate. In connection with the armies there existed constantly groups of retainers who spoke both languages and acted as the messengers or couriers of the officials.[20] Often the retainers were without any sense of patriotism and served that camp, Arabic or Christian, which paid them best. In regions where the Arabic domination was complete there were sometimes isolated groups of Christians who, while they seem to have preserved their Spanish,[21] learned the Arabic. Some of these *mozárabes* confirmed with their signature in Arabic the *Fuero de Toledo* in 1118.[23] From the *Escrituras mozàrabes de la catedral de Toledo* Menéndez Pidal cites in Latin characters twenty-four mozarabic signatures for the twelfth century and three for the thirteenth century.[24] These signatures give us some idea of the domination of the Arabic speech in and about Toledo as late as the first

[19] Altamira, I, 234.
[20] M. Pidal, *Gram.* p. 27.
[21] M. Pidal, *Doc. Ling.* p. 349.
[22] For an account of the *mozárabes* see F. J. Simonet, *Hist. de los mozárabes* (*Memorias de la Acad. de la Hist.*, XIII, 1903).
[23] Cf. Muñoz, *Colecc. de Fueros*, p. 367.
[24] See *Doc. Ling.* p. 350.

half of the thirteenth century. In military affairs, in political and social institutions, in the trades and in general culture, the Arabs represented a civilization superior to that of the Christians. The Spanish lexicon contains a considerable number of words of Arabic origin, mostly substantives, pertaining to the material civilization.

Many sounds of a guttural fricative nature were introduced into Spain by the Arabs and yet for phonetic reasons we know that they played no part in changing the *f* to *h* in Spanish. The Arabs had in their own speech the *f* which Wright (p. 6) says "is our *f*". Therefore, they found no difficulty in pronouncing the Latin *f* of the Spaniards; and Spanish words in the regions of Toledo and Cordoba where Arabic influence was most dominant preserved the *f*[25] just as it was preserved in Gaul despite the strong aspirate *h* of the Franks. The Arabic speech in Spain, far from contributing to the loss of the *f*, exerted an influence toward its preservation and restoration. Baist vouches for the influence of the Arabic *f* (R. F. IV, 375):

> Das arabische *f* hat den stärksten Anlass zu der partiellen Herstellung des Lauts im Spanischen gegeben; es ist, so weit es selbst inficirt war, fast überall wieder eingesetzt worden. Die Zahl der Worte in welchen die Schwächung in *h* zum schriftlichen Ausdruck kam, ist gering, herrschend wurde sie nur in etwa vier Fällen. Ueber die andalusische Aussprache, die vielleicht gerade hier besonderes Interesse hat, finde ich keine genügenden Indicien.

[25] See Ch. III, p. 69.

In 1891 Baist lacked, as he says above, sufficient documents to speak authoritatively on the Arabic *f* in Andalucía. I can say that the Arabic *f*, in fact any *f*, was preserved in Andalucía until late (cf. p. 31).

Of the languages that have contributed most to Spanish Menéndez-Pidal (G. 11-32) cites the Vulgar Latin, the Germanic, the Arabic, and the French. It is clear that none of the first three contributed the phenomenon of *h* for *f*, and the last one, the French, could not, for it never developed it to any appreciable extent on its own soil. Besides, French influence came late, at a time when Spanish was already well developed and less susceptible to foreign influences than in the early stages of its development.[26]

The loss of the *f* began early to attract the attention of scholars. In 1492 Antonio de Nebrija attributed it to the influence of the Jews and the Arabs. In speaking of the *h* in *hago, hijo,* he says (V. 1085):

> ia no sirve por si salvo por otra letra e llamarla emos *he* como los judios e moros: de los cuales recebimos esta pronunciacion.

Nebrija is to be regarded by modern scholars not as an incompetent philologist, but as one of the great Humanists of the Renaissance. He had spent years in Italy as a student of the Ancients. He had studied Quintilian and other Latin grammarians in preparation for his *Arte de*

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[26] Baist regards the 11th to 13th centuries as the most important period of French influence (cf. Gröber's *Grundriss,* 1904-06, I, 883); M. Pidal, *Gram.* p. 29, emphasizes the 13th-15th centuries.

la lengua castellana[27] and was already well aware that the use of *h* for *f* was no contribution from the Latin.

The cause of the change from *f* to *h* has proven to be a knotty problem for philologists. The French *hors*[28] < *foris* is still unexplained. Schwan-Behrens (G. 107) speaks of it as "un *h* qui est encore inexpliqué." Nyrop (G. I. 439) says: "*foris* > *hors* (on a aussi *fors*), alternation inexpliquée." The phenomenon in French is, of course, so small that for all practical purposes it can be disregarded. Not so in Spanish, however, in which it has left its mark on a considerable part of the lexicon: *hablar* < *fabulāre, hacer* < *facere, hijo* < *filium,* etc.

Since the Faliscan dialect of the Latin had the *h* for *f* and the same phenomenon is not entirely unknown to modern Italian, it might be reasoned that the change from *f* to *h* in Spanish, while having no connection with the phenomenon in Latin and Italian, is a natural phonetic change. This explanation would seem weak in view of the fact that the *f* is preserved in practically the entire Romance domain except Spanish and Gascon. It is to be resorted to after all other attempts at a more satisfactory one have failed.

In 1868 H. Schuchardt began to view the change from *f* to *h* in Sardinian dialects and in Spanish as a possible descendant of Iberian influence (III. 37):

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[27] Cf. Cuervo, *Disquisiciones,* p. 1.

[28] O. Fr. texts: *fors* occurs: *Homélie* (Xcent.) 4.2; *Passion* 5.73; *Saint Léger* 6.146; *Saint Alexis* 9.293; *Roland* 10.35; *hors* occurs: *Ami* et *Amile* 18.37; *Le Roman de Rou* 26.48; *Chrétien* (*Perceval*) 35.417. (cf. Bartsch's *Chrest.* ed. 1920.)

> Vielleicht haben wir einige Berechtigung dazu, in den Uebereinstimmungen des Sardischen mit dem Spanischen die Einwirkung der iberischen Sprache, die ja lange Zeit auf der Insel Sardinien herrschte, zu erkennen. In einigen ostlogudoresischen Mundarten tritt für anlautendes *f h* ein, welches mit gutturaler Aspiration gesprochen wird, so *hachere=facere, hogu=focus, hizu=filius.*

It seems that Schuchardt was the first scholar[29] to awaken real interest in the *Neo-Iberian* or modern Basque languages which are spoken to-day on the Spanish side and the French side of the Pyrenees. The Basques are the descendants of one of several very ancient Iberian peoples who lived in northern Spain before the advent of the Romans and who spoke kindred languages.[30] Their speech at present both in Spain and in France presents features quite unlike those of any other European language.[31] In 1887 Schuchardt published his *Romano-baskisches* in which he showed that *p* and *ph* (=*f*) were not original sounds of the Basque and that practically all Basque words with initial *p* were of Romance origin (p. 509):

> Aus allen hier gewonnen Ergebnissen dürfte ein allgemeineres hervorgehen, nämlich dass *p-* (*ph-*) kein echt-und altbaskischer Anlaut ist. Von allen Wörtern denen es heutzutage eignet, sind bei weitem die meisten romanischen Ursprungs.

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[29] For a list of investigators of the Basque languages and their contributions see H. Gavel, p. 2.

[30] Cf. H. Urtel, E. V. p. 29; also M. Pidal, *ibid,* p. 28.

[31] Cf. T. Navarro-Tomás, E. V. p. 49.

In 1893 E. Hübner published his *Monumenta linguae ibericae,* showing for the ancient Iberian a total lack of the *f, v, p.* Thus was established a definite connection between the primitive Iberian and the modern Basque.[32] In 1906 Schuchardt published his *Baskisch und Romanisch* in which he showed that in the Basque regions of Spain and France the *f* and *v* become *p* and *b* respectively (p. 31): "*p-*, *b-*, sind auch die regelmässigen Vertreter von *f-* und *v-*". Before the investigations of Schuchardt the phonetic side of the Basque was practically unknown. It was an unknown field to Diez and Meyer-Lübke who cited merely a few doubtful Iberian survivals in the lexicon. In 1918 Menéndez-Pidal cited (G. p. 23) for the present day speech of Vizcaya *pigura* for *figura, baba* for *faba* and said in regard to the loss of the *f* (p. 103):

> Cuestión importante es la fecha de la pérdida de la *F*. Aunque en la literatura no ocurre hasta el siglo XV, hemos de suponer que entonces no hizo más que generalizarse una pronunciación antes relegada como dialectal, pero mucho más antigua, que ofrece ejemplos ya en el siglo XIII en la Bureba, y que podemos suponer primitiva y muy probablemente hija de la influencia ibérica. También en Gascuña, colindante con el país vasco francés, se trueca la *F* por una aspiración, diciéndose *hasende* hacienda, *hum* humo, *hart* harto, y aunque la *h* no se emplea corrientemente en la escritura sino en el siglo XVI, hay testimonios de que ya se pronunciaba *h* en el siglo XII.

According to his statement above he knew in 1918

[32] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.* 237.

about early cases of the *h* which originated in northern Burgos (Bureba)[33] contiguous to the Basque territory of the present day. A considerable amount of work has been done on the modern Basque since 1918.[34] In the light of modern research, scholars are beginning to regard the modern Basque as a true descendant of the ancient Iberian just as we regard Spanish and French as true descendants of the ancient Latin. J. Saroïhandy of the Collège de France, who has done a great deal of work on Basque Phonology, said in 1923 (E. V. 41):

> La lengua vascongada es el representante de aquellos dialectos ibéricos del Norte de España, que poco diferenciarían de los demás que antiguamente se hablaron en toda España.

And he continues (p. 42):

> La *f* no se encuentra sino en poquísimas palabras vascas, casi todas extranjeras y venidas de fuera. A veces esta *f* es sustituída por una *p* (*pico* de *ficus*), por una *b* (*bago* de *fagus*) o por una *h* aspirada.

In an attempt to arrive at the truth about the loss of the *f*, I shall follow the clues given by H. Schuchardt and Menéndez Pidal that we see in the loss of the *f* a de-

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[33] Cf. *Doc. Ling.* p. 63. *Bureba* corresponds to the district of Briviesca, in northern Burgos.

[34] See H. Gavel's *Éléments de Phonétique Basque*, Paris, 1920; see also the articles by H. Urtel, J. Saroïhandy, T. Navarro Tomás, H. Gavel, and M. de Azkue in *Estudios Vascos* 1923; also those by G. Lacomb, W. Meyer-Lübke and G. de Humboldt in the *Revue Internationale des Études Basques*, 1924.

scendant of Iberian influence. Such a view seems justified because of the fact that the Iberian-Basque did not have the *f* and the fact that the only two important Romance languages that have lost the *f* are Spanish and Gascon spoken in territory contiguous to the domain of the Basque. Menéndez Pidal (G. 103) seems to regard the loss of the *f* as a primitive phenomenon, as a contribution to the Latin of Spain from the Iberian-Basque background. Directly opposed to Menéndez Pidal's theory are the very worthy considerations of Meyer-Lübke. As recently as 1920 he presents views as follows (*Einf.* 237):

> (1) Vom iberischen Lautsystem gewinnt man aus dem wenigen, von Hübner, *Monumenta linguae ibericae,* 1893, vollständig zusammengestellten Material aus alter Zeit nur einen sehr unvollkommenen Begriff. Der einzige einigermassen deutliche Zug ist der Mangel der Labialen, namentlich des *f, v* und vielleicht auch des *p,* trotz des *paramus* einer Inschrift, das in span. *páramo* 'Ebene' weiterlebt. Damit den Ubergang des lat. *f* in *h* zu vergleichen, wie er im Spanischen vorliegt, vgl. *hembra* 'Frau' aus *femina, hacer* 'machen' aus *facere, hijo* 'Sohn' aus *filius, hoja* 'Blatt' aus *folium, humo* 'Rauch' aus *fumus,* ist aber aus mancherlei Gründen unstatthaft. (2) Wenn die Iberer kein *f* besassen, so wäre *h* kaum der nächstliegende Ersatzlaut gewesen, vielmehr würde man *b* oder einfachen Schwund des *f* erwarten. (3) Vor allem aber müsste man voraussetzen, das jedes *f* zu *h* geworden wäre. Dem ist aber nicht so, vielmehr bleibt *f* vor *r* und *ué,* vgl. *frente* 'Stirn' aus *fronte, fuerte* 'stark' aus *fortis* usw.

Meyer-Lübke's points may be contested. (1) The

work of M. Gómez-Moreno, *De Epigrafía Ibérica,* 1922, corroborates Hübner's work of 1893 and gives a clearer account of the ancient Iberian. (2) It is possible that the ancient Iberian *h* was not a vigorous aspirate like the Germanic *h* or the Basque *h* of the present day. It may have been a guttural fricative somewhat akin to the Latin *f* after the latter had undergone changes on the Iberian peninsula. Meyer-Lübke would expect a *b* for the Latin *f* or a total disappearance of the *f*. For territory contiguous to the present day Basque domain we can cite a disappearance of the *f*. For the year 1212:*Reoio* and *Rehoio,* different spellings of the same place-name, occur in a document of Logroño (*Doc. Ling.* 70). In another document of Logroño dated 1188 we find *Refoyo* (*Doc. Ling.* 19). Of course, it may be that *Reoio* for *Refoyo* represents an early aspiration of the *f* which had disappeared by the year 1212 and not a case in which the *f* had disappeared originally without going over to *h* at all. At any rate, these early cases of the *h* prove an early aspiration of the *f* in regions contiguous to the Basque domain.

(3) The last consideration of Meyer-Lübke is difficult to controvert. It does not seem to be clear in the minds of most scholars just why the *h* and the *f* stand divided as they do in the modern language. Menéndez Pidal (G.102) says: "La *F* se conservó en la lengua literaria sólo ante el diptongo *ue,* y a veces ante *ie,* y en otras circunstancias mal definidas." Meyer-Lübke regards the complete preservation of the *f* before *ue* as an evidence that the loss of the *f* does not go back to the period of the *Iberi-Romani.* If the Spanish-Romans actually did

pronounce *hocu* for *focu*, *honte* for *fonte*, *horas* for *foras*, why do we not find *huego*, *huente*, *huera*, etc. in ancient documents which originated in territory contiguous to the Iberian-Basque domain? The *f* is found invariably before *ue* in documents of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which show isolated cases of the *h* in other forms. It is true that certain modern dialects[35] have the *h* before *ue*, which is represented in literature by the *j*, e. g. in *juego* for *fuego*, etc., but this is a late development.[36] No case of *h* for *f* before *ue* is known to me earlier than Encina (XV cent.). Baist who knows the old documents so well cites no case of *huerte*, *huego*, etc., earlier than the fifteenth century.[37] Taking Meyer-Lübke's view of the situation into account, we have to determine as nearly as possible the time of the breaking of the *ŏ* and date the change from *f* to *h* not earlier than that time. No clue to the diphthongization of the *ŏ* can be gained from Carnoy, *Inscr.*[38] Seelmann (213) cites for the year 419 A. D. *vobit* for *obiit*. Grandgent (77) states that at the end of the Latin period all stressed vowels were long in Spain and in some parts of Gaul: *tēmpus*, *pōrta*. He deems it likely that these new long vowels were pronounced in some regions with a circumflex intonation, which in the transition from Latin to the Romance lan-

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[35] Cf. M. Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, p. 156; H. Schuchardt, *Cantes Flamencos*, p. 306.

[36] See Ch. III, p. 75.

[37] R. F. IV, p. 356.

[38] I find no case of the *ŏ* reduced to *ue* in the inscriptions. M. Pidal, *Gram.* p. 14, says: "No se halla en este latín rasgo ninguno de los que caracterizan esencialmente el romance español."

guages resulted in diphthongization in a large part of the Empire: *côr*>It. *cuor*, *nôs*>Fr. *nous*. Portugal, southern Gaul and Sicily, he says, did not participate in this early breaking. Meyer-Lübke (G. 561) states that the development of new quantity was different and independent in the different Romance territories. There are evidences of diphthongization as early as the second century A. D.[39] We are, therefore, justified in regarding the change from *f* to *h* as occurring in a very remote period so far as the question of the breaking of the *ŏ* is concerned.

Despite all the objections of Meyer-Lübke, two important facts point to an Iberian-Basque origin for the loss of the *f*. They are: (1) the Iberian-Basque did not have the *f*. (2) the only two important Romance languages that have lost the *f* are Spanish and Gascon spoken in territory contiguous to the domain of the Basque.[40] Even if the loss of the *f* occurred after the general diphthongization[41] of the *ŏ*, it can still be a descendant of

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[39] A. Zimmermann (*Zeit.* XXV, 735) cites for an inscription made about the year 120 A. D.: *Niépos*, beside *Nepotis*. Lindsay (p. 31) cites for Old Lat. and Rustic Lat.: *frundes* for *frondes;* for V. L.: *turnus* for *tornus*.

[40] H. Gavel (p. 12) sees the same influence at the base of the change from *f* to *h* in Spanish as in Gascon: "Il est certain que le changement de cette *f* en *h* dans les deux domaines paraît dû à une même tendance; mais ici encore, dans l'application, il y a des divergences de détail, puisqu'en béarnais et en gascon l'*f* s'est changée en *h* même devant les liquides: ex. béarnais ancien *hrai*, aujourd'hui *rai*, du latin *fratre*." Cf. Gavel (p. 11): *hari*<Lat. *farina*, *hargou*<*fargua*.

[41] Cf. Muller (*Lat. a Spoken Lang. in France*, p. 334). "Latin cannot be said to have lost its character and become a dead language until the latter part of the eighth century."

Iberian influence, for the Iberian speech never disappeared. It is perpetuated to this day in the modern Basque according to the opinion of the best scholars of the Basque speech. Iberian-Basque influence is entirely conceivable until the end of the Basque kingdom of Navarre in the eleventh century under Sancho the Great. The Basques remained from the earliest times an unconquered people. They resisted successfully the Romans, also the Visigoths. It is believed that the Arabs never gained a foothold on their territory. Altamira discusses the Basques and the kingdom of Sancho the Great (I. 239, 248):

> Los Navarros o Nabarros pertenecían a la nación vasca, siempre independiente — vino Navarra a ser el centro político cristiano de más importancia puesto que dominaba desde las fronteras de Galicia a las del condado de Barcelona, reuniendo los antiguos territorios de León, Castilla, Navarra, Aragón y territorios vascos de España y Francia. Sancho el Mayor llegó a tomar el nombre de rey de las Españas.

In the ninth century the Basques fought shoulder to shoulder with the Castilians against the Moors. In the year 882 we find Diego Rodríguez defending Pancorbo (N. Burgos) while a Basque, conde Vela de Álava, defended Cellorigo (*Doc. Ling.* 4). Reciprocal speech influences between the Castilians and the Basques cannot be denied.

A consideration that is sometimes advanced to-day against an Iberian-Basque origin for the loss of the *f* is

the fact that it does not occur in the written language until the end of the fifteenth century, a period of great literary development in which the Iberian-Basque, lacking an important literature and also social prestige, could no longer exert influence. In answer to this consideration we can show from paleographic documents of which we know the time and the place for each document that the *h* existed in the spoken language of regions contiguous to the Basque domain long before Spanish began to be written. The *Documentos Lingüísticos de España* (*Reino de Castilla*) show:

(1187) Uilla *Falila,* a place-name, occurs in a document of Campó,[42] Doc. Ling. 39

(Siglo XII) Uilla *halila,* a place-name, occurs three times in a document of Campó, Doc. Ling. 41

(1187) rabbi *Halaph,* a personal-name, occurs in a document of Campó. In the same document we find: *Halap* Uedi, testis, and *Falaph* Ferrero, testis, Doc. Ling. 38

Halaph and *Falaph,* although they refer to different individuals, are doubtless the same name. The *f*-form is, of course, the official standard spelling. The *h*-form is a deviation from the official and represents the pronunciation.

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[42] Campó (Lat. *Campodium*) comprised the contiguous parts of three modern provinces: the northeastern part of Palencia, the southern part of Santander, the northwestern part of Burgos (*Doc. Ling.* 32).

(1188) *Refoyo,* a place-name in a document of Rioja Alta.[43] Doc. Ling. 119

(1212) *Rehoio* and *Reoio,* different spellings of the same place-name, occur in a document of Oña in northern Burgos. Doc. Ling. 70

Refoyo represents Rioja Alta (Logroño) and is, of course, the official spelling of the place-name. *Rehoio* and *Reoio* represent northern Burgos which was the domain of the primitive Castile called *Castella* in the first half of the ninth century (*Doc. Ling.* 62). *Reoic* is a strange form. There can be no doubt that it is of the same origin as *Refoyo. Reoio* seems to point to a very ancient aspiration of the *f* which by the year 1212 had already disappeared. We may feel certain, therefore, that that speech which was later called Castilian had the phenomenon of *h* for *f* much earlier than Meyer-Lübke seems to believe.

(1227) *Calaforra,* a place-name, occurs seven times in a document of Rioja Alta. Doc. Ling. 124

(1246) *Calaorra,* the same name as that cited above,

[43] Rioja Alta formed the northwestern part of the modern province of Logroño. It extended from the modern town of Logroño westward toward northern Burgos which was the domain of the primitive Castile. In the eleventh century Rioja Alta was crossed by a great French highway which opened to it more active communication with the primitive Castile than it could have with Navarre (*Doc. Ling.* 110.111).

occurs once in a document of Rioja Baja.[44] Doc. Ling. 160

(1261) *Calahorra,* the same place-name, occurs twice in a document of Rioja Baja. Doc. Ling. 164

In documents which originated in Álava contiguous to the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa we find the place-name cited above always with *h*: *Calahorra* for the years 1266, 1304, 1311. Doc. Ling. 177, 188, 189

(1228) *Ferrera* from Lat. *ferraria,* a place-name occurs: el abbat de *Ferrera* in a document of Rioja Alta. Doc. Ling. 126

(1229) *Ferrera,* a place-name, occurs: Garci Goncaluez de *Ferrera* in a document of Rioja Alta. Doc. Ling. 129

(1282) *Herrera,* a place-name, occurs five times in a document of Rioja Alta; abbat de *Herrera* three times. Monesterio de *Herrera* once. Sancta Maria de *Herrera* once. Doc. Ling. 148

(1229) *Faro,* a place-name, occurs once in a document of Rioja Alta: don Lop Diaz de *Faro.* Doc. Ling. 129

(1229) *Haro,* a place-name, in a document of Rioja Alta: don Lop Diaz de *Haro* occurs four times. Doc. Ling. 127

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[44] Rioja Baja comprised the eastern part of the modern province of Logroño, including the town of Calahorra. In ancient times this territory gravitated in its political and social relations toward the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragón (*Doc. Ling.* 111).

In documents which originated in Álava contiguous to the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, the place-name cited above occurs with *h*. For the year 1277: don Lop Diaz de *Haro* occurs twice. Doc. Ling. 180

(1274) *hanegas,* from the Arabic *fanica* (D&E. 266), occurs in a document of northern Burgos. Doc. Ling. 95

The Arabic *f* follows the same development as the Latin *f*. In territory contiguous to the Iberian-Basque it becomes *h*.

(1282) *haran, hara, hecho* from *facere,* occur in a document of Rioja Alta. Doc. Ling. 148

(1290) *Helipe, Feliphe,* a personal-name, occurs: Domingo *Helipe* four times, Domingo *Feliphe* once, in a document of northern Burgos. Doc. Ling. 103

The number of early cases of the *h* for *f* is small owing to the fact that citations are made only from reliable documents the time and place of which are definitely known. All the cases of the pronounced *h* cited above occur in documents which originated in Cantabria contiguous to the Basque domain of the present day. Cantabria corresponded to the modern provinces of Santander, northern Burgos, and Logroño (*Doc. Ling.* 107). An examination of documents of other parts of the Castilian domain shows no

early cases of the "pronounced *h*". The written *h* is regarded as "pronounced" when it occurs for: the Latin *f*, the Germanic *h*,[45] the Germanic *f*, the Arabic aspirates, the Arabic *f*; also in all cases in which it occurs alternating with *f*, i.e. in place-names, personal-names, etc. No case of the "pronounced *h*" occurs in documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the following territories: central and southern Burgos, Osma, Valladolid and Cerrato, Segovia, Toledo, Cuenca, Andalucía, Murcia. For Segovia situated to the south of Burgos we find a late case of the *h* in a place-name:

(1398) Alcalá de *Henares*. Doc. Ling. 323
(1368) Alcalá de *Fenares* occurs in a document of Toledo. Doc. Ling. 405

A very late case of the *h* occurs for Andalucía. In a document of Granada dated 1492 we find:

hazer, hazerse, hebrero. Doc. Ling. 480

Judging from the documents, Andalucía which is today one of the chief regions of the pronounced *h* for *f*, e. g. in *facere*>*jacer*, did not have the phenomenon until very late.

This chronological and geographical comparison of

[45] I mean the Germanic *h* which was introduced into Spain by the French in the eleventh century: e. g. Sp. *honta* (*fonta*)<Fr. *honte*<Germ. *haunida*. It could be that the Gothic *h* survived in Spain in the *h*-territory of the Basques.

paleographic documents proves the small region of Cantabria[46] contiguous to the Basque domain to be the original point of the *h* for *f* so far as the Castilian territory is concerned. Cantabria was the latest region to be Romanized. In Cantabria, as a result of its late Romanization, Iberian speech influences survived long after they had disappeared from the central and southern regions, i. e. Toledo, Andalucía, etc. The ancient Cantabria has been studied by E. Flórez who tells us that the Cantabrians were a race unrefined by Roman culture, that they spoke their own crude language long after the Latin had become dominant in other parts of Spain (p. 134):

> La lengua Cantábrica no era común à España: pues los Geógrafos hablaron francamente de los pueblos restantes de la Nación, escribiendo sin embarazo sus nombres, y sólo al llegar à la Cantabria los hallaron escabrosos, y difíciles de acomodar al Latín, o al Griego: prueba clara de que era idioma diverso, y que no huvo en España lengua general primitiva.—(p. 136) Había pues en España diferentes idiomas, no sólo en lo mediterráneo, sino en las costas Septentrionales: pues según lo dicho resulta que el Cántabro tenía una lengua muy áspera.

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[46] Cf. M. Pidal (*Doc. Ling.* 107). "El mismo nombre de Cantabria, que en tiempo de Augusto se daba a Campó, a la Montaña y a la Castilla del Norte, se extendía también a la Rioja en tiempos visigóticos, acaso porque los cántabros, vencidos por Augusto y obligados a trasladarse a tierras llanas, se extendiesen principalmente por la cuenca meridional del Ebro. A la izquierda de este río, e inmediata a Logroño, estaba la ciudad de Cantabria, sometida por Leovigildo en 574, juntamente con Amaya, y por la Rioja se extendía el que entonces se llamó ducado de Cantabria."

Here in the northern region of Cantabria outside of the realm of Latin civilization and contiguous to the domain of the Iberian-Basque originated the use of *h* for *f* in the spoken language. Here in Cantabria was the domain of the primitive Castile (*Doc. Ling.* 62). We may, therefore, feel certain that the Castilian speech had the phenomenon of *h* for *f* early, certainly long before Spanish began to be written. In the great central and southern regions which formed thoroughly Romanized territory, the f was preserved until after the beginning of the Spanish literary period. Basing our opinion on the evidence of the documents we may designate as *f*-territory until after the beginning of the literary period, central and southern Burgos, Segovia, Soria, Toledo, Andalucía, etc. Here we may suppose that the native languages disappeared and the Latin dominated completely.[47]

When finally the primitive Castile (N. Burgos), which had the *h* for *f* in its spoken language, expanded territorially, politically, and linguistically, it communicated the phenomenon to the central and southern regions. This phase of the subject, the spread of the *h*, is studied at a later point (Ch. III).

For the regions of the ancient Leonese and Aragonese dialects, there are no texts included in that valuable collection, *Documentos Lingüísticos de España* by Menéndez Pidal. There are, however, paleographic documents of these regions, giving the date of their composition and

[47] Carnoy (p. 11) points out that the inscriptions of Andalucía show practically a classical form of the Latin. In the regions farther to the north the Latin is of a more Vulgar character.

the approximate place. The Leonese and Aragonese phase of the subject is studied in the next chapter.

II. H-Territory and F-Territory Determined by the Phonetic Development of the Arabic Ḥ.

In our study of the Castilian domain based on the *Documentos Lingüísticos de España* (*Reino de Castilla*), we designated as *h*-territory those regions in which we found early cases of the *h* for *f* and as *f*-territory those regions in which we found the *f* preserved. From very ancient times the *h* was in the speech of the small northern region known as Cantabria. From Roman times until after the beginning of the thirteenth century the *f* was preserved in the speech of the great central and southern regions: Valladolid, Segovia, Soria, Toledo, Andalucía, etc.

In this chapter we aim to determine as accurately as possible the territory originally occupied by the *h* in the Leonese domain and in the Aragonese domain. To do this we are compelled to introduce new documents which, while they are reliable sources, do not indicate so definitely the original place of their composition as those used for Castilian domain.

At this point it is deemed wise to allow the development of the Arabic ḥ to become a factor in determining the conditions of aspiration in the various regions. In 1896 Wrights described the Arabic ḥ as follows (p. 5):

> A very sharp but smooth guttural aspirate, stronger than our *h*, but not rough like the *ch* in the Scotch *loch* or the German *Rache*.

Early in the eighth century this aspirate, naturally somewhat different from Wright's modern description of it, entered Spain now preeminently Roman for about nine centuries, with the Iberian *h* dominant in Cantabria and the Latin *f* dominant in the great central and southern regions. The graphic representation of this foreign aspirate in paleographic documents of the several regions of ancient Spain should give some clue to the conditions of aspiration in those regions. We shall consider the Arabic *ḥatta* as it developed in the three chief dialects: the Leonese-Asturian, the Navarro-Aragonese, and the Castilian. The reflexes of *ḥata: ata, fata, hata, fasta, hasta,* are common in the early texts.

(1) For the Leonese-Asturian there are several paleographic documents for which we have some idea as to the place of their composition. For the extreme north we have the *Fuero de Avilés* of the year 1155, edited by A. Fernández-Guerra. For territory to the south and east of the Asturias we have from the Monastery of Sahagun seventy-four documents, covering the period 1171-1299, and twenty-eight from monasteries of central and western León, covering the period 1241-1294. These documents are edited by E. Staaf. For territory to the south of León we have the *Fueros de Zamora y Alba de Tormes* edited by A. Castro and the *Fueros de Salamanca y Ledesma* edited by F. de Onís. The *Fueros* edited by Castro and de Onís belong to the thirteenth century. The documents cited may be regarded as representing the various regions of the Leonese domain fairly well as it is described by F. Hanssen (G. p. 8):

El Leonés. Este grupo de dialectos abarcaba en tiempos antiguos Asturias, León, una parte de la provincia de Santander, Zamora, Salamanca y una parte de Extremadura. También el dialecto que se habla en los alrededores de Miranda en Portugal es leonés. Se distingue entre el leonés occidental, central y oriental. El leonés occidental se acerca al gallego y el leonés oriental al castellano.

For the Asturias the *FAvilés* (1155) shows the *f* preserved and the Arabic ḥ lost:

ata tercio dia p. 91
ata que pp. 92, 94, 97
de su casa *ata*là sua p. 95
dela mar *ata* leon p. 107

For Santander as a prolongation of the Asturias we find for the year 1253 the Arabic ḥ lost: *ata,* Doc. Ling. 23. The phenomenon of *h* for *f* did not exist in any part of the Asturias during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a statement which is proved by the fact that the Arabic ḥ disappeared as far to the east as Santander.[1] As for the documents of the Monastery of Sahagun, they may be regarded as typical of the vernacular of the eastern part of the Leonese domain; for Staaf tells us (p. 177) that he has been extremely careful in the interest of philology to include in his collection only those dealing with the affairs

[1] The use of *h* for *f* exists in Santander to-day where the people pronouce: *jazuca* for haza pequeña, *jornia* for hornilla, etc. In East Asturias the ancient aspiration still survives. The people pronounce: *josoria, jachu, jierro,* etc. In Central and West Asturias the ancient *f* is preserved: *fesoria, fachu,* etc. (cf. M. Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés,* p. 156).

of the laymen: contracts of sale or exchange, letters of donation, wills, inventories, etc. He presents no document later than the end of the thirteenth century and states his reason (p. 177):

> Si nous avons restreint nos recherches au XIII[e] siècle, c'est que les documents de Sahagun n'offrent après cette époque que très peu de différences du castillan. On verra que déjà les chartes qui appartiennent à la fin du XIII[e] siècle ont subi une influence très forte de la part du castillan et c'est là en effet une chose naturelle. Sahagun appartient à la région orientale du domaine léonais, et le dialecte qu'on y parlait s'approche dès les plus anciens monuments beaucoup plus du castillan que celui des documents appartenant à la région centrale ou occidentale de Léon.

Sahagun in the eastern part of the Leonese domain came early under Castilian influence, certainly as early as the first half of the thirteenth century.[2] It was destined to become *h*-territory eventually as it is to-day: *Sahagún*<*Safagún*<*San Fagun*<*Sancte Facunde*.[3] It was not *h*-territory before the end of the thirteenth century, a fact which is proven by the ancient spellings of the modern *Sahagún* in documents of that place:

(1232) *san Fagund* p. 14
(1233) *sant Fagund* p. 19

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[2] Cf. M. Pidal (*Doc. Ling. p.* 12). "Fernando III (1217-1252) reune definitivamente los dos reinos de Castilla y de León (1230)."

[3] Cf. M. Pidal (*El Dialecto Leonés* p. 157). "pero ya en el partido de *Sahagun* se pierde la *f* de *Sancte Facunde* y de *Herreros* de Cubillas".

(1245) *San Fagun* p. 34
(1267) *sant Fagunt* p. 89
(1291) *sant Ffagut* p. 110

It will be noted that some of the documents show a loss of the *t* of *sant* before the consonant *f*. None of them as yet show the group *nf* reduced to *f*, i. e. *Safagun*.

Coming now to representations of the Arabic aspirate ḥ of *ḥatta*, the Sahagun documents show:

(1236) *fasta* que p. 21
(1237) *ata* que p. 24
(1246) *fata* el dia de oy p. 38
(1257) *fasta* la fiesta p. 72
(1262) *fasta* cabo de un anno p. 83
(1299) *ffasta* cabo — p. 120

We come now to documents, belonging to the region of central and western León. These, farther removed from the Castilian domain, may be expected to show little or no influence from that dialect. Staaf speaks for the documents (p. 178):

> Ces chartes offrent en elles-mêmes un grand intérêt, et elles nous serviront en outre de termes de comparaison pour faire comprendre la nature pour ainsi dire intermédiaire du dialecte de Sahagun.

The documents show the Arabic aspirate ḥ completely lost:

(1241) *ata* p. 126
(1241) *ata* que p. 126
(1283) *ata* p. 166.

We proceed to trace the Arabic ḥ of *ḥatta in* Zamora to the south of the province of León. The *FZamora* shows the ḥ generally lost:

ata que 6.43
ata 11.59
fasta que 85

For Salamanca directly to the south of Zamora the *FSalamanac* shows the ḥ generally lost:

asta que 16.68.170
fasta que 16.330
asta 27.80.99.116

For the province of Salamanca we are not limited to evidence from the *FSalamanca.* For the northern part of the province we have the *FLedesma* which shows the Arabic ḥ lost or represented by *f:*

asta que 4.78
ata que 197
fasta que 7.37.132.200

For the eastern part of the province of Salamanca which formed territory contiguous to Ávila in the domain of the Castilian, the *FAdeT* shows:

fasta que 14.17.18.26.34.39
fata 55

Of the Leonese documents cited, only those from Sahagun contiguous to the domain of the Castilian show the *f* for the Arabic ḥ at all regularly. The genuine Leonese

documents show Arabic aspiration completely lost as we can see by the prevailing number of cases of *ata asta* in: the *FAvilés*, the *FZamora*, the *FSalamanca*, the *FLedesma*, and the documents presented by Staaf for Central and West Leon. The pronounced *h* is not a native of the Leonese domain so far as we can ascertain from paleographic documents of which we know the time and approximate place of their composition.

It may be contended that the development of a single aspirate form *ḥata* cited for a small number of texts presents too limited a view of the possible conditions of aspiration in the Leonese domain. *Ḥatta* was chosen because its reflexes are of common occurrence in the ancient texts. To dispel doubt we shall present other evidence.

The Arabic ḥ gives *f:*

rafala<*raḥala* FSal 196; FAdeT 55
alfaya<*alḥâgá* FLed 217
almofalla<*almohalla* FJuzgo 215

The Germanic *h* coming to the Leonese domain through the French disappears generally:

onta<Fr. *honte*<Germ. *haunida* Alex 484.530,994.1405. 1611.1695
ardido<Fr. *hardi*<*Germ. hartjan* Alex 63.309.599.821. 896
fardido<Fr. *hardi*<Germ. *hartjan* Doc. Sah. 15

The inorganic *h* and *f* of *hallar fallar* from *adflāre* do not occur generally:

axar FSal 83
axare FSal 154.186
axar FLed 36
allado FJuzgo 215

To the total lack of the *h* in the forms cited above we add the *f* in place-names and personal names cited from the documents of Sahagun which represent the eastern part of the Leonese domain.[4] In these the *h* would certainly occur if it existed at all in León for they come from territory not very far remote from Cantabria. The documents show:

(1171) *Mofomate* Menuzada p. 4
(1186) *Feres,* a place-name p. 6
(1197) Micael *Fagundiz* p. 7
(1199) Luppi del *Faro* p. 9
(1222) *fonte Fizara* p. 12
(1232) *sanFagund* (Sahagun) p. 14
(1232) uilla *Falcon* p. 15

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[4] The eastern part of the Leonese domain became *h*-territory after the 13th century. It is *h*-territory to-day. In determining the boundary line between the *h* and the *f* M. Pidal (*Dialecto Leonés,* 156) is guided by the *h* and *f* in place-names. The province of León shows for the north, west, and central parts, the *f*: *Folloso, Formigones, Felmin, Folledo, La Foz, Ferreras.* The southeastern part of the province shows the *h*: *Sahagun, Herreros* de Cubillas, etc. Zamora shows for the north and west the *f*: *Ferreros, Folgoso, Ferreruela, Fornillos, Figueruela.* Toward the east, the aspiration of the Middle Ages still survives in the popular speech: *jucicu, joci* for hoz, *jorno,* etc. The province of Salamanca shows the *h*: *Herreros, Hinojosa, Hurtado,* etc. The aspiration of the Middle Ages still lives even in villages contiguous to Portgual: *jarina* for harina, etc.

(1233) *san Felizes,* from the genitive of the phrase *Ecclesia Sancti Felicis* or from the accusative *Sanctu Felicem,* p. 18
(1245) san *Fagund* p. 34
(1245) don *Furtado* p. 36
(1254) vila *Fafila* p. 61

The place-name *vila Fafila* bears a striking resemblance to *Uilla halila* cited for the *h*-territory of Cantabria (see p. 35).

(1254) Lopez del *faro* p. 63

This name for León is to be compared with the *h*-form occurring in Cantabria for the year 1229: *Lop Diaz de Haro* four times (see p. 37).

(1270) *Fforniela,* a place-name, p. 161
(1282) *Ffuenteruela,* a place-name, p. 101
(1283) *Fenolledo,* a place-name, p. 167.

In view of the total lack of the *h* in documents of the ancient Leonese domain, I regard as *f*-territory from Roman times until after the end of the thirteenth century: the Asturias (East, Central, and West), León, Zamora, and Salamanca. In these regions the *h* was unknown. Here the Arabic and Germanic aspirates disappeared just as centuries earlier the Germanic *h* disappeared in the Vulgar Latin of Gaul because the latter speech did not have the *h* (B. 141). Even if early cases of the *h* can be adduced for the ancient Leonese domain,[5] they will

[5] Baist (R. F. IV, 382) cites from Leonese documents a few

without doubt occur in documents originating in regions near or contiguous to the *h*-terrritory of Cantabria where we must suppose that from very early times a reciprocal speech influence existed between the domain of the *h* and that of the *f*.

(2) Turning now to the eastern part of the peninsula, we shall trace the Arabic aspirate ḥ of *ḥatta* for the ancient Navarro-Aragonese dialect spoken in territory to the east of Cantabria and partly contiguous to it. The province of Navarre is bounded on the north by the Pyrenees, on the northwest by the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa and Álava. Álava was united to the kingdom of Navarre under Sancho the Great in 1029 and remained a part of Navarre until the year 1076 when Alfonso VI of Castile took possession of Álava, Vizcaya, and Guipúzcoa. Castile soon lost the provinces and they were united to Navarre until toward the end of the twelfth century. Finally in the year 1200 they were definitely united to Castile.[6] It cannot be denied that the Iberian-Basque was in a position both politically and socially to exert some influence on both the Castilian and the Aragonese during the supremacy of the Basque kingdom of Navarre in the eleventh century under Sancho the Great. His was by far the most powerful kingdom of northern Spain.[7] In Navarre lived the descendants of early Iberian peoples who spoke

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cases of the *h* for Arabic aspirates. His documents are not localized and can hardly be regarded as authentic as the texts used for this study.

[6] *Doc. Ling.* p. 174.

[7] Altamira I. 239.248.

kindred languages.[8] Aspirate contributions from the speech of these early peoples are to be sought in the modern Basque as it is spoken on the Spanish side and the French side of the Pyrenees and in the ancient documents of the Navarro-Aragonese dialect. J. Saroïhandy[9] has made a detailed phonetic study of the modern Basque language of the French side, mentioning incidentally the Basque of Navarre which, he says, differs very little from the Basque of France:

> El navarro poco difiere del vasco francés, el guipuzcoano difiere un poco más, el más diferente de todos es el vizcaíno. En este trabajo sólo se hablará de las particularidades del vasco francés.

According to Saroïhandy there are discernible in the Basque of France three dialects: the *labortano*, the *bajo-navarro*, and the *suletino*. In these the *f* is very rare, occurring almost exclusively in foreign words taken into the Basque speech from surrounding languages. In some cases the *f* has gone over to a *p*, e. g. *pico* from *ficus*, or to a *b*, e. g. *bago* from *fagus*, and in other cases to an aspirate *h*. Saroïhandy (*ibid.* 42) states that the Basques of Navarre do not pronounce the *h*:

> Los navarros españoles no aspiran la *h* de las palabras del vasco francés, y dejan caer la mayor parte de las vocales interiores, diciendo por ejemplo: *arçaçu* en lugar de *hareçaçu* (tómelo Vd.) y *otronça* (comida) en lugar de *othoronça*.

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[8] Cf. H. Urtel, E. V. p. 39; also J. Saroïhandy (*ibid.* p. 41).
[9] Cf. *Doctrina gramatical de Oihenart in* E. V. 1923, p. 41

From Saroïhandy's statement it is not to be believed that ancient Navarre was without the *h*. The territorial extent of the *h* in the Basque has not remained fixed. It has changed as in Spanish and in other languages.[10] H. Gavel who has surveyed the whole Basque field in his *Éléments de phonétique basque* says or quotes that in ancient times the *h* occupied practically the entire Basque domain (p. 454):

> M. Azkue (*Dicc.*, I. pp. 373-374) signale comme une preuve possible de ce que, à un moment donné, l'*h* aurait été commune à tout le pays basque, le fait que dans le texte biscayen *Refranes y Sentencias comunes en Bascuence* (1596) un assez bon nombre de mots ont souvent une *h* à l'initiale. Il est possible, à la rigueur, qu'il faille réellement voir dans ces *h* initiales le signe d'une aspiration alors en voie de disparaître.

In the *Doc. des Archives de Navarre* a place-name occurs with a vacillating or falling *h* in a document of the year 1270 (p. 23):

hombres de *Yhoc*[11]
ommes de *Hihoc*
los *d'Ihoc*
hombres de *Hihoc*

Of course, it may be contended that the *h* in this place-name is a silent *h* so common in the ancient texts. There

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[10] Cf. G. Hill, *The Aspirate in English, Latin, Greek, and Gaelic*, London, 1902.

[11] Cf. J. Brutails in *Gloss. Ihoc=Iholdy*, Basses Pyrénées.

is no proof that it is a silent *h*. It may just as well be a pronounced *h*. It is unfortunate that we do not have for the ancient Navarro-Aragonese domain a collection of carefully localized texts like the *Documentos Lingüísticos* published by Menéndez Pidal for the Castilian. Without such documents it is impossible to say just where *h*-territory ended and *f*-territory began. It seems safe, however, to conjecture that in territory contiguous to the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa and Álava and in the mountainous regions of northern Navarre and Huesca, the *h* flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An ancient place-name shows the *h*:

(1284) Lopes de *Haro* Doc. Dipl. Arg. 238

This spelling for the Aragonese dialect is like that cited for the *h*-territory of Cantabria for the year 1229 (p. 37): *Lop Diaz de Haro, Lop Diaz de Faro.* The *h* occurs for the Germanic *h* coming through the French: Sp. *honta*<Fr. *honte*<Germ. *haunida.*

(1276) non han fet a *honta* ni a desonor, Doc. Dipl. Arg. 186

These cases of the *h* show the early influence of the Iberian-Basque which still lives in the regions of the Pyrenees. It is a noteworthy fact that the Germanic *h* could survive in some part of the Aragonese domain, but it disappeared completely in the Leonese regions (cf. p. 50). While the *h* dominated in parts contiguous to the Basque provinces and in the regions of the Pyrenees, there are evidences that by far the greater part of Navarre

was *f*-territory in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for the Arabic ḥ disappeared as far to the north as Pamplona. Citations are made from the *Documents de Archives de Navarre.*

Pampelune, 10 novembre 1365:
ata que p. 109

Pampelune, 20 novembre 1365:
ata tanto que p. 112
ata cierto dia

Pampelune, 30 novembre 1365:
ata p. 126

Pampelune, 29 janvier 1366:
ata que p. 127
ata

Olite, 4 février 1366:
ata tanto que p. 133

Olite, 10 août 1367:
ata que p. 157

The loss of the Arabic ḥ in the regions of Pamplona and Olite may be regarded as proof that in those regions the phenomenon of *h* for *f* did not exist during the fourteenth century, and very probably never had existed there. A loss of the Arabic ḥ is seen in a most ancient document of Navarre, the *Glosas Silenses* (XI cent.):

usque infinem=*ata* que mueran 82
usquedum mazerentur=*ata* ke monden 275

The *f* of the Middle Ages is still pronounced in the regions of Low and High Aragon.[12]

In the *Documentos Diplomáticos Aragoneses*, covering the period 1258-1285 the Arabic ḥ of *ḥatta* is generally lost:

(1258) *fasta* que p. 105
(1270) *ata* aqui p. 135
(1270) *ata* que p. 197
(1283) *ata* aquel logar p. 223
(1284) *fatal* dito dia p. 203
(1285) *ata* que p. 215

The *P. de Yuçuf* based on a very ancient Aragonese MS.A. and a later MS.B. shows the Arabic *ḥatta*>*fasta* 41.98.102.153.202.287. In the treatment of other aspirated forms, this document shows:

[12] Cf. J. Saroïhandy: "J'étais parti en diligence de Pampelune, marchant sur Jaca (N. E. Huesca) après m'être arrêté à la petite station balnéaire de Tiermas, j'arrivai à Berdun (N. E. Huesca). Pour aller à Fago, le dernier hameau que l'on rencontre avant d'entrer en pays basque - - - Nous savons que la langue de l'Aragon se distinguait, au moyen âge, de celle de la Castille. Après la réunion des deux couronnes, c'est-à-dire depuis la fin du XV^e siècle, l'aragonais a peu à peu cédé la place au castillan. Il ne l'a pas fait, toutefois, sans laisser de souvenirs. Dans toutes les localités du Bas et du Haut-Aragon on peut, aujourd'hui encore, relever quantité de mots et de tours qui sont particuliers à la province; et dans la région montagneuse, il subsiste des dialectes qui ont une physionomie nettement distincte du castillan."

He describes the speech of the little village of Asmo (N. E. Huesca):

Fa buena caló=*Hace* buen calor
Que *fas* aquí=¿Qué *haces* aquí?
Se *fuye!*=Se *huye!*
Que *fambre* é=¡Qué *hambre* tengo!

(*Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études*, 1901, pp. 106-118).

inchar for *finchar* (*inflāre*) in MS.A. 276
allaron for *fallaron* (*adflāre*) in MS.A. 15b
allaron for *fallaron* in MS.B. 14b

The *Glosas Silenses* also show developments of *adflāre* without the aspirate sign:

deuenerit=non *aflaret* 5
proditum=*aflatu* fueret 8
invenitur=*aflatu* p. 15n

The form *aflaret* is for *fallare*. *Aflatu* is for *fallado*. In both the *Yuçuf* and the *Glosas* we see a tendency to omit the aspirate sign in developments of *adflāre* just as it is generally omitted in ancient Leonese texts:

equi lo *axar*, tome le todo elo FSal 83
et qui lo *axare*, prendalo FSal 154
equi lo *axare*, prenda lo FSal 186
E quien oueyas *axar* enlas uinnas FLed 36
que for *allado* FJuzgo I.6

It is clear that in the treatment of the aspirate sound the Aragonese dialect resembles very closely the Leonese. Both show the Arabic ḥ generally lost. *Ata* and *asta* are more common than *fata* and *fasta*. Both tend to omit the aspirate sign in *fallar hallar*, showing *allar axar*. It is safe, therefore, to conclude that from very early times the *h* occupied only those regions of the Aragonese domain which were contiguous to the Basque territory. The *f* was doubtless preserved in the greater part of the territory

corresponding to the modern provinces of Navarre, Huesca and Saragossa.

(3) We proceed now to trace the aspirate ḥ of *ḥatta* for the Castilian domain. For a study of this dialect we have the evidence of three hundred and seventy-two paleographic documents, representing the speech of the various regions from the Bay of Biscay on the north to the Mediterranean on the south and covering the period of 1100-1492. In the preceding chapter we divided the Castilian domain, according to the original regions of the *h* and the *f*, into two parts (see p. 41): (1) the *h*-territory of Cantabria in the north; (2) the *f*-territory extending from central Burgos to the Mediterranean. In the latter territory which forms the great central and southern part of Spain, the *f* was preserved from Roman times until after the beginning of the Spanish literary period. In this *f*-territory originated the MS. of the *Cid* and that explains why we find in that document no case of *h* for the Latin *f*, no case of the *h* in a word of Germanic or Arabic origin.[13] Scholars have tried to determine the original place of the MS. of the *Cid*. After examining all the theories presented and probing the case himself, Menéndez Pidal concludes that the MS. of the *Cid* originated in territory corresponding to the present day province of Soria (*G. del Cid*. 73):

Sea como quiera, el Cantar se escribió en la ac-

[13] Cf. M. Pidal (*G. del Cid*. 173). "Nunca se sustituye la *F* por *h* como hacen algunos documentos del siglo XIII y algunos códices del XIV."

tual provincia de Soria, en el extremo Sureste de lo que hoy se llama Castilla la Vieja.

So far as the preservation of the etymological *f* is concerned, the MS. of the *Cid* might have originated in any one of the central or southern regions, for they were all *f*-territory. A very good proof that it did not originate in Cantabria is the total lack of the pronounced *h*. Whatever the spelling and pronunciation of the author of the *Cid*, the *f*-spelling of Per Abbat, the copyist, is phonetic. This view of the situation is based on a comparison of the spellings of the personal-names and place-names occurring in the *Cid* with those occurring in texts of the *Documentos Lingüísticos* for which the time and place are definitely known.

The *Cid* for Soria shows *f*:

Fanez 14.378.387
Fariz 654.769.773
Fariza 547
Felez 741.2634
Fenares 435.479.542
Fernando 2440.3634
Figueruela 402
Fita 446.518
la *Foz* 551
Alfama 551

Documents of central Burgos situated a little to the south of the *h*-territory and contiguous to Soria show personal-names and place-names with *f*:

(1100) Didag *Fannez* Doc. Ling. 197
(1148) *Fernan* Pardo Doc. Ling. 199
(1179) Martin *Ferrero* Doc. Ling. 200
(1188) don *Feles* Doc. Ling. 201

The name don *Feles* is like the *Felez* (*Fēlix*) of the *Cid*: 741.2634.

(1200) *Fernando* Doc. Ling. 205

This name occurs in the *Cid*: 2440.3634.

(1220) Lop Diaz de *Faro* Doc. Ling. 218

This name occurs with *h* in a document of Cantabria for the year 1229: *Lop Diaz de Haro*. Doc Ling. 127

(1224) Maria de *Forniellos* Doc. Ling. 221
(1254) don *Felipp* Doc. Ling. 251

This name occurs with *h* in a document of Cantabria for the year 1290: *Domingo Helipe* four times. Doc. Ling. 103

Documents of Segovia situated to the southeast of Soria and contiguous to it show personal-names and place-names with *f*:

(1221) don Lop Pedrez de *Funes* Doc. Ling. 314
(1258) Villa *Ffalcon* Doc. Ling. 316
(1263) *Fferran* Gil Doc. Ling. 318
(1333) Garcia *Ffalcon* Doc. Ling. 321

Documents of Guadalajara situated to the south of

Soria and contiguous to it show personal-names and place-names with *f*:

(1230) Maria dela *Foç* (4 times) Doc. Ling. 340
(1232) Domingo *Fierro* Doc. Ling. 341
(1245) ecclesia de la *Foz* Doc. Ling. 343
(1254) Pero *Felizes* Doc. Ling. 343

The place-name *la Foz* occurs in the *Cid*: 551.

We proceed to examine the spellings of Toledo for which we have the evidence of forty-six documents, covering the period 1146-1424. In regard to the territory represented by the documents M. Pidal says (*Doc. Ling.* 347):

> Comprendemos bajo este nombre la antigua diócesis de Toledo — El obispado antiguo de Toledo abarcaba el tercio occidental de la moderna provincia de Guadalajara, la provincia de Madrid, la de Toledo (salvo el oriente), toda la provincia de Ciudad Real y el extremo oriental de la de Cáceres.

The documents of Toledo show place-names and personal-names with *f*:

(1194 & 1198) casas de *Ferreruera* Doc. Ling. 354
(1198) Diago Lopez de *Faro* Doc. Ling. 355

Faro for Toledo is to be compared with the *h-* and *f-* forms for Cantabria for the year 1229: *Lop Diaz de Haro* four times. *Lop Diaz de Faro* once. Doc. Ling. 127.129

(1198) Lopez de *Fitero* Doc. Ling. 355
(1213) Diego de *Fenares* Doc. Ling. 367

Fenares occurs in the *Cid*: 435.479.542. The *h*-form occurs in Berceo[14] who was a native of Cantabria: *Ribera de Henar*. SDom. 734.

(1329) aqui en *Ffita* Doc. Ling. 397

Fita occurs in the *Cid*: 446.518

Practically all the *f*-names of the *Cid* have been duplicated in documents which originated in territory near or contiguous to that of the MS. of the *Cid* and which, like the *Cid*, show invariably the *f*. It is safe, therefore, to conclude that the spelling of the *Cid* is phonetic so far as the *f* is concerned and that the phenomenon of *h* for *f* did not exist in Soria until after the end of the thirteenth century. The complete preservation of the *f* in documents of central and southern Burgos, Segovia, Guadalajara and Toledo, constitutes substantial evidence that these regions did not have the *h* for *f* until after the end of the thirteenth century. Andalucía which is to-day one of the chief regions of the aspirated *f*, e. g. in *facere*>*jacer*, did not have the phenomenon until late (cf. p. 39). For this region we have the evidence of thirty documents, covering the period 1235-1492. In regard to these M. Pidal says (*Doc. Ling.* 448):

> Incluímos en un solo grupo los documentos de toda la Andalucía, porque lo tardío de la reconquista de esta vasta región quita interés de arcaísmo a su dialecto.

Andalucía came late under the influence of the primi-

[14] See p. 67.

tive Castile (N. Burgos) which eventually gave the phenomenon of *h* for *f* to all the regions that she conquered. The *f* of Andalucía for the thirteenth century as over against the *h* of Cantabria for the same time is clearly revealed in a comparison of the two different spellings of the same personal-name:

(1284 Sevilla[15]) don *Ffelipe* (3 times) Doc. Ling. 468
(1290 Briviesca) Domingo *Helipe* (4 times)
Domingo *Feliphe* (once) Doc. Ling. 103

It cannot be contended that the documents of the central and southern regions are of a learned character and, therefore, would not naturally show the popular phenomenon of *h* for *f*. Precisely the opposite is the case. In the names cited above: *Fannez, Faro, Ferrero, Felipp, Fierro, Foz* (*faucem*), we see no resemblance to Latin words. In every respect they reflect the vernacular. In view of the evidence presented, I maintain that the scribes of the great central and southern regions spell invariably with *f* before the end of the thirteenth century because they do not yet have the phenomenon of *h* for *f* . The scribes of Cantabria and its environs are the only ones to deviate from the historical *f* because they alone aspirate the *f* in their daily speech.

All the evidence gained from localized documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries harmonizes to prove that the *h* was original in Cantabria and its environs con-

[15] For the aspirated *f*>*j* in the present day Sevilla, see H. Schuchardt, *Cantes Flamencos* in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.* V. pp. 249-322.

tiguous to the domain of the Basques and that it was unknown in León, Toledo, Aragón, Andalucía, etc. We have, therefore, discovered for ancient Spain a primitive domain of the *h* (the Basque country and regions contiguous to it). In the rest of Spain the *f* seems to have been preserved until after the end of the thirteenth century.

With ancient Spain divided into *h*-territory and *f*-territory we are in a position to discuss the development of foreign aspirates in Old Spanish. It is clear that in the *h*-territory the Arabic ḥ and the Germanic *h* will exist originally as *h* side by side with the Iberian *h*. In the *f*-territory the Arabic and Germanic aspirates may go over to *f* or disappear. A reciprocal speech relation between these two coexisting and phonetically different speech territories (the *h*-territory and the *f*-territory) explains why we find side by side in the earliest texts and sometimes in the same text such variant forms as: *hata, fata, ata,* from the Arabic *ḥatta; honta, fonta, onta,* from the Germanic *haunida.* In some regions the foreign aspiration was preserved; in some regions it was represented by *f;* in others it was lost.

Some scholars have seemed to believe that the Arabic and Germanic aspirates necessarily existed for a time as *f* and that finally the *f* became *h*. For example, the Arabic *ḥatta* supposedly gave O. Sp. *fata* and after a time *fata* became *hata.* This view of the situation is not supported by facts. It is easy to show that the difference between *hata* and *fata* or between *hata* and *ata* etc. is one of dialect and not one of chronology:

(1) In the Leonese and Aragonese domains the Arabic ḥ, as we have seen, quite generally disappeared, i. e. *ata*[16]<*ḥatta*. In the Leonese domain the Germanic *h* coming through the French disappeared generally:

onta<Fr. *honte*<Germ. *haunida* Alex. 994.1611.1695
aontadc (for *ahontado*) Alex. 402.484.530.1405
ardido<Fr. *hardi*<Germ. *hartjan* Alex. 63.309.599.821.896

(2) In the great central and southern regions: central Burgos, Segovia, Soria, Toledo and Andalucía where Arabic influence was keenly felt, the Arabic and Germanic aspirates were rarely lost. Documents of these regions show almost invariably the *f*: *fata, fasta, fonta, fardido, fe, afe* etc. For these regions the commonly accepted rule of *f*<Ar. ḥ and *f*<Germ. *h* is correct. The cases given below are cited from the *Cid* (MS. originated in Soria, cf. p. 58), because that document shows the development of the foreign aspirate in a wider range of words:

fata<*ḥatta* 446.777.1148.1679.2424.2640.2872.3323
fasta<*ḥatta* 477.1030
fe<*ḥe* 269.485.1335.1452.3591.3534.3701
afe<(a) *ḥe* 152.262.476.1255.1317.1413.1499.1568.1597 1942.2080.2101.2135.2140.2155.2175.2222.2855. 2947.3992.3393
Alfama, a place-name, 551

[16] Cf. Baist (R. F. IV. 365). "Das alte *ata,* welches sich nach Portugal erstrecht, in Leon und Asturien besonders häufig erscheint."

Fariz<*Ḥariz* (see p. 682), a proper-name, 654.769.773
almofalla<*almoḥalla* (D&E. 172) 182
fardido<Fr. *hardi*<Germ. *hartjan* 443.489
fonta<Fr. *honte*<Germ. *haunida* 942.959.1356

These *f*-forms: *fata, fasta, fardido, fonta,* etc. of the great central and southern regions as over against the non-aspirated forms of the Leonese domain: *ata, asta, ardido, onta,* etc. may be accounted for by the fact that in the former regions[17] the contact between the Spaniards and the Arabs was more or less close while in the latter regions,[18] Arabic influence was slight. In the central and southern regions the *f* seems to have been the nearest equivalent to the Arabic and Germanic aspirates. In the Asturias and León the Spaniards seem never to have learned the Arabic sounds at all, but Arabic words were evidently passed on to these regions in the preliterary period proven by the cases of *ata* in the *FAvilés* (1145) and the other *Fueros Leoneses.*

In speaking of the *f* for the Arabic guttural fricatives or aspirates, Menéndez Pidal[19] says:

> El español antiguo representaba por la frictiva

[17] Cf. M. Pidal (*Doc. Ling.* 109). "Dos siglos estuvo en poder de musulmanes la Rioja (Logroño), hasta por los años 922." *Ibid.* 347. "Los cristianos o mozárabes abundaban en la ciudad (sc. Toledo) y en su comarca, y conservaban, aunque bajo el dominio musulmán, una completa organización eclesiástica, como lo prueba el hecho de que todavía en los años 1058-1067 tenían un arzobispo al frente."

[18] Cf. Altamira I. 237, "Los cristianos poseyeron permanentemente la faja de tierra más cercana al mar (Asturias, Santander, algo de la provincia de Burgos, León y Galicia)".

[19] See *Revista de Archivos* VIII, 1902, p. 282.

f las fricativas guturales ḥ h, pues carecía de un sonido análogo a éstas.

It is true that the speech of the great central and southern regions had no sound analogous to the Arabic guttural fricatives (or aspirates) because the Latin *h* was never pronounced in Spanish. In Cantabria, on the contrary, Spanish had an equivalent to the Arabic and German aspirates. It had the Iberian *h*. In Cantabria foreign aspirates existed as *h* from the time they landed there. Here the development is: O. Sp. *hata*<Ar. *ḥatta*. *Hata* occurs in the variants of a document of Briviesca (N. Burgos) dated 1230: *hata que, hata,* Doc. Ling. 82. These two cases of *hata* for the domain of the primative Castile contiguous to the Basque territory are the only ones found in a collection of over three hundred documents which show for the central and southern regions only *fata* and *fasta*. This is pretty good proof that *hata*<Ar. *ḥatta* is a native of Cantabria and that the difference between *hata* and *fata* is one of dialect and not one of chronology. I can prove that the *hasta*<*ḥatta* common in Berceo represents Cantabria. In a document of Rioja Alta dated 1228 we find: *Testes: el abbat de Ferrera — don Gonzaluo de Berceo,* Doc. Ling. 126. In another document of Rioja Alta dated 1242 we find: *Testes de clerigos de Berceo: don Goncaluo de Berceo,* Doc. Ling. 135. Berceo lived and wrote in the region of *h* for *f* and that is why the *h* is common in his works. His numerous cases of *h* for the Latin *f* are cited at a later point (cf. p. 96). Berceo aspirates the Arabic ḥ and represents that aspiration by *h:*

hasta<*ḥatta* SMill 384.463; Mil 156.258.268.463.633. 644; Duelo 23.106.138; Sac 69

fasta<*ḥatta* SDom 36.434; Duelo 84

Again Cantabria is proven to be the original domain of the *h* for *f*. Only in this northern territory in the neighborhood for the Iberian *h* could the Arabic ḥ survive as *h*. Elsewhere it either disappeared as in León and Aragón, i. e. *ata, asta,* or existed as *f* in Soria, Segovia, Toledo, etc., i. e. *fata, fasta.*

Meyer-Lübke states that *f* is the reflex of the Germanic *h,* coming to Old Spanish through the Old French (*Einf.* 1920, 47): "wogegen das dem Germanischen nachgesprochene *h* der französischen Lehnwörter im Altspanischen *f* geschrieben und z.T. sogar *f* gesprochen wird, vgl. das schon genannte *faraute,* ferner *fonta* 'Schande' aus frz. *honte* Poema del Cid, 939." Hanssen (G. 7) discusses the ancient Germanic *h* which disappeared early in the Vulgar Latin (cf. p. 19). Of the *h* in Germanic words which came into ancient Spain from France he says (*ibid*): "En palabras que llegaron de Francia en época más reciente, está representado el sonido por *f,* y ésta más tarde ha pasado a *h*: *honta, hardido, haraute, hacha.*"

Neither Meyer-Lübke nor Hanssen state that *h* can be the original reflex of the Germanic *h* in Old Spanish. These scholars were apparently unaware that there existed in northern Spain a primitive domain of the *h* to which foreign aspirates could come and survive as *h* from the time they first entered Spain. For Cantabria we have

shown: Sp. *hata*<Ar. *ḥatta*. For the same region we may expect: Sp. *honta*<Fr. *honte*<Germ. *haunida*. It is clear from a geographical view-point that the French entered Spain by way of the north which was the domain of the Iberian *h*. Baist[20] regards the second half of the eleventh century as the earliest period of strong French influence. Menéndez Pidal presents documentary evidence that the French figured prominently during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the northern regions for which I have cited the earliest cases of the *h* for *f* (cf. p. 35). He says (*Doc. Ling.* 110):

> El camino francés era, como puede presumirse, la gran vía de comunicación con el extranjero. Los pueblos situados a lo largo de este camino solían tener, sobre todo en el siglo XII, barrios especiales poblados de franceses. Concretándose a la Rioja, abundaba la población francesa en Logroño; al repoblar esta ciudad Alfonso VI en 1095, le da fueros disponiendo que sus habitantes "tam francigenis quam etiam ispanis, vel ex quibuscumque gentibus, vivere debeant ad foro de francos"; un francés de Logroño es el otorgante de nuestro documento 79, del año 1199. También por nuestros documentos (pág. 112) sabemos que en Nájera (N. Burgos) había población francesa. En fin, otro francés de Santo Domingo de la Calzada es el otorgante de nuestro documento 85, del año 1212, y nótese que Santo Domingo tenía igual fuero que Logroño, habiendo dispuesto también

[20] Gröber's *Grundriss*, 1904-06. I. p. 883.

Alfonso VIII en 1207 que los vecinos viviesen "ad forum de francos".

This discussion gives us a clear idea of how the French figured in the political life of the region of the *h*. In a Latin document of northern Burgos we find references to the French for the year 1126: *Sunt autem testes de francis*: *Natalis, Iterius,* etc. At a later point in the same document: *multi alii sic de francis, sic de castellanis.* Unfortunately it happens that Cantabrian documents (in *Doc. Ling.*) show no cases of *h* for the Germanic *h* because the scribes generally imitate the Latin spelling. There are other early texts, however, which doubtless originated in northern territory and which show: Sp. *h*<Fr. *h*< Germ. *h*:

Estoria Godos (written before 1246):
honta pp. 51.68.72

Doc. Dipl. Arag. (1276):
honta p. 186

Prim. Cron. Gral. (1289):
honta 115a.15
hardimente 360a.22; 548a.45
hardit 520a.23

Sem Tob:
honta 74

These cases of *hardido, honta,* etc. occur altogether too early to be developments from an earlier *fardido, fonta,* etc. Besides, since there was an original domain of the *h*

in ancient Spain, the Germ. *h* did not have to become *f*. In and about Cantabria the Germanic *h* from France survived as *h* side by side with the Iberian *h*. That explains why we find for some of the earliest texts: Sp. *h*<Fr. *h*< Germ. *h*. When the Germanic *h* passed southward to the *f*-territory, i. e. Soria, Segovia, Toledo, etc., it became *f* and functioned side by side with the *f*<Ar. ḥ of which we have cited numerous cases from the *Cid* (p. 65). For the central and southern regions *f* is the reflex of the Germanic *h* from France. The *Cid* for Soria shows: *fardido* 443.489; *fonta* 942.959.1356., side by side with *fata* 446.777.1148.

In general it may be said of the foreign aspirate coming into ancient Spain that its development depends entirely upon the conditions of aspiration existing in the territory to which it comes. For the Germanic *h* and for the Arabic ḥ we may find either *h* or *f* or no aspiration.

In the earliest Old Spanish texts I find cases of a vacillating *h* and *f* which seem to indicate very ancient territorial divisions in some of which aspiration existed while in others it did not exist or had disappeared.

(1) Place-names:

Rehoio Refoyo Reoio (cf. p. 36)
Calahorra Calaforra Calaorra (cf. p. 36)

(2) Germanic and Arabic aspirated forms:

hardido fardido ardido
honta fonta onta
hata fata ata
hasta fasta asta

he fe e
ahe afe ae
harre farre arre

(3) Words of Latin origin which had neither *h* nor *f* in the original but which became aspirated forms in Spanish (cf. p. 116):

hallar (*adflāre*) *fallar allar* (*axar*)
haz (*acies*) *faz az*
henchir (*implēre*) *fenchir enchir*
hinchar (*inflāre*) *finchar inchar*
hinojos (*genuculos*) *finojos inojos*

The difference between any one of the forms of a word cited above and another form of the same word is one of dialect and not one of chronology. The *h*-forms are not to be regarded as later than the *f*-forms. They existed side by side with the *f*-forms from remote antiquity. This view of the situation is based on the fact that there was in northern Spain a primitive domain of the *h* and the fact that the documents show the *h*-forms to be as early as the *f*-forms.[21]

The recent discovery in connection with the origin of the much disputed *he* of *he aquí* demonstrates admirably that *f* need not necessarily be at the base of *h* in Spanish. Diez[22] and his successors: Ascoli,[23] Bello,[24] Cuer-

[21] Cf. Inorganic H and F (p. 116).
[22] Et. Wb. p. 458. s. v. *He*.
[23] *Arch. Glott.* X, p. 7n.
[24] Ed. of *Cid* s. v. afe.

vo[25] and Ford[26] persisted in seeing a form *fe* (common in the *Cid*) at the base of the mod. *he*. In 1911 Menéndez Pidal[27] presented as the origin of the mod. *he* an Arabic ḥe which explains it in sense, syntax, and form far more satisfactorily than any of the earlier etymons offered.

In attempting to explain the origin of the mod. *he* in 1905, Pietsch[28] was at least on the right track when, going contrary to his predecessors, he regarded *he* as a primary form. Mod. *h* does not necessarily proceed from *f* and in the case of *he*, of uncertain origin, it was to be proven and not taken for granted that *he* was later than *fe*. In fact *he* occurs in several documents earlier than those in which *fe* occurs (cf. p. 136). It is believed that this investigation, designating the original domain of the *h* and that of the *f*, shows that *h* as well as *f*, can be original in Old Spanish.

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[25] Bello Cuervo, *Gram.* (*Notas* p. 87).
[26] O. Sp. R. p. 108.
[27] *Gram. del Cid* p. 685.
[28] *Mod. Phil.* II. 197.

III. The Spread of the H in the Spoken Language and its Triumph in the Written Language.

From early times until about the end of the thirteenth century we see the *h* existing in small northern territory[1] which was called Cantabria by the ancients and which corresponded approximately to the modern Santander, northern Burgos and Logroño. It has been shown that the *h* was practically unknown to the ancient Leonese domain and that it did not exist to any appreciable extent in the domain of the Aragonese dialect. Of the ancient dialects the Castilian stands out preeminently as the speech of *h* for *f*. In documents of northern Burgos which was the domain of the primitive Castile we found the earliest cases of the *h* for *f* (see p. 35). This proves that from early times the phenomenon of *h* for *f* was essentially the property of that speech which was later called Castilian. In the spoken Castilian the use of *h* for *f* was continued hidden under cover of a spelling which did not adapt itself to the pronunciation except in very rare and isolated cases. Toward the end of the fifteenth century when the Castilian dialect attained to real literary importance over the other dialects, the *h* succeeded in getting itself represented in the written language.

From Cantabria in the north to Andalucía in the south represents approximately the direction of the spread of

[1] The *h* doubtless existed in the Basque regions of northeastern Spain until long after the beginning of the Spanish literary period (cf. H. Gavel, p. 450). With this phase of the subject we need not concern ourselves in this study.

the *h*. This we know from the fact that in carefully localized documents (equally ancient) early cases of the *h* occur in the north and later cases in the central and southern regions (cf. p. 39). From north to south represents approximately the direction of the reconquest of Spain from the Moors and the consequent growth of the primitive Castile.[2] From the domain of the primitive Castile in northern Burgos contiguous to the Iberian-Basque the use of *h* for *f* spread to the central and southern regions. In fact we may regard the Fall of Granada in 1492 as the high water-mark of the spread of the *h* in Spain. In that same year the *h* entered officially into the written language.

It seems that the use of *h* for *f* did not become fixed in the speech of the central regions immediately after the Moors had been driven out. We know that Soria, Segovia, Toledo, etc. were in the hands of the Christians before the end of the thirteenth century and yet documents of these regions show no case of the *h* for *f* until the fourteenth century. The use of *h* for *f* seems to have penetrated toward the south more or less slowly following in the trail of the Spanish reconquerors until at the end of the fifteenth century it became fixed in the speech of southern Andalucía (cf. p. 39).

It is difficult even with carefully localized documents

[2] Cf. M. Pidal (*Doc. Ling.* 12). After he has studied each new-acquired territory of the primitive Castile and secured for it documents, he says with regard to the arrangement of the whole: "Pondremos esas regiones en orden geográfico, de Norte a Sur, pues ese es aproximadamente el orden del sucesivo acrecentamiento del reino."

to designate in detail places where the use of *h* for *f* exists at given periods of time in its spread. The spelling of the central and southern regions which was originally phonetic becomes unphonetic as the *h* spreads toward the south because the scribes of these regions adhere to the traditional *f* and fail generally to adapt their spelling to the acquired *h*-sound of the original *f*. It happens that documents of Madrid and Toledo (in *Documentos Lingüísticos de España*) show only the *f* as late as the first half of the fifteenth century while we know from other sources that these regions had the use of *h* for *f* probably in the first half of the fourteenth century. In attempting to trace the spread of the *h* in the spoken language we are dealing with hidden quantity. Under cover of the written *facer* may lurk the spoken *hacer*. A few approximate indications of the time and place of the phenomenon of *h* for *f* are all that can be given even though we have for our study the most authentic documents that exist, *Documentos Lingüísticos de España* (*Reino de Castilla*).

In the last chapter we showed for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *h* rounded up in small northern territory and the *f* preserved in the great central and southern regions. In this chapter we attempt to show for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *h* moving southward and gaining ground at the expense of the *f*.

H for *F* in Segovia (XIV cent.)

Segovia has the phenomenon of *h* for *f* in the fourteenth century evidenced by the *h* in a place-name:

(1398) Alcala de *Henares* Doc. Ling. 323

In documents of Toledo this name occurs with *f* in the fourteenth century. The spelling is probably official and may fail to represent the pronunciation:

(1368) Alcala de *Fenares* Doc. Ling. 405
(1371) Alcala de *Fenares* Doc. Ling. 406

H for *F* in Soria (XIV cent.)

Soria did not have the phenomenon of *h* for *f* in the thirteenth century evidenced by the spelling of the *Cid* as compared with that of other documents (see p. 59). For the fourteenth century the *FSoria* shows:

dehesa 27.28.29.107
deheseros 29.38.39.40.107

dehesa from Lat. *defensa* as in *terra defensa,* i. e. 'defended land', 'land fenced in', therefore, 'pasture'. Cf. J. Ruiz 2981: *un cavallo muy gordo pascia enla defesa.*

H for *F* in the regions of Madrid, Guadalajara, Toledo, and Salamanca (XIV cent.).

We regard the cases of *h* for *f* in Ruiz[3] as constitut-

[3] Little is known of Ruiz's life. A verse in the MS. of Salamanca (1510), addressed to his lady-love, would lead us to believe that at one time he lived in Alcala de Henares: *fija, mucho vos saluda uno que es de Alcala.* Another MS. reads: *uno que mora en Alcala.* Hurtado y Palencia (*Hist. de la Lit. Esp.* 135) believes that the greater part of his life was spent in the regions of Madrid, Guadalajara, and neighboring territory.

ing evidence that the phenomenon of *h* for *f* existed in the regions[4] cited above during the fourteenth century. His work shows:

(1) *H* for *f* in place-names:

açipreste de *fita* 19.3
acipreste de *hita* 575.1
mi amor de *fyta* 845.1

Fita occurs in the *Cid*: 446.518. A document of Guadalajara shows for the year 1329: *Fita* once, *Ffita* four times. Doc. Ling. 397.

Ribera de *henares* 170.2
Rio de *henares* 1107.3

Fenares occurs in the *Cid*: 435.479.542. A document of Toledo shows for the year 1213: *Diego de Fenares*, Doc. Ling. 367.

el campo de *fazaluaro* 1187.2
hazaluaro 1187.2 in MSS.G.T.

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[4] In the introduction to his paleographic edition Ducamin describes three MSS. of Ruiz's work. One of them, *S*, is in script of the end of the 14th or early 15th cent. It is the work of a single scribe. It was originally at Salamanca (whence the *S*), but is now at Madrid in the library of the Royal Palace. Ducamin has made it the basis of his text, citing variants from the other MSS. The second MS.*G*, once belonged to the archivist Gayoso; it is now in the library of the Real Academia de la Lengua at Madrid. It is in script of the 14th century, having been completed in 1389, and like *S*, is the work of a single scribe. It lacks the first ten quatrains. The third MS.*T*. belonged once to the Cathedral at Toledo; it is of the same time as *G* (1389). It is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

(2) *H* for *f* in personal-names:

entremos ala cabana, *ffferruzo* non lo entienda 980.1
herrozo 980.1 in MS.G
don *ffuron* moço del arcipreste 1617.5
huron avia por nombre 1619.3
"*huron* amigo, buscame nueva funda" 1623.1

(3) *H* for the Latin *f*:

echanla (sc. la çarça) de la vyña, de la huerta e de la *haça* 569.2
haça for mod. Sp. *haza,* 'a piece of cultivated land', from *fascia.* Cf. M-L 3208

"Ala *fe,*"-dyxo la vieja 743.1
ala *fe,* aquel es don melon 873.4
"Ala *he*" diz--930.1;962.2

he fe from *fidem.* The forms cited have the force of *i'faith*
A la fe=i'faith occurs in the *Alex*: 327.623; J. Manuel 406a.
A la he=i'faith occurs in Encina: 177.237.242

Parose me enel sendero la gaha rroyn, *heda* 961.1

heda from *foedus.* Cf. M-L 3406

hadre duro, non te espantes 967.3
hade duro, comamos deste pan duro 969.3
el neçio *fadeduro* 389.3

hade duro from *fatum+durus, -a, -um.* The words cited above are not listed by Meyer-Lübke, Wtb., nor by Kört-

ing. They do not occur in the lists of words of Arabic origin cited by Dozy and Engelmann. The Etymon offered is that of R. Lanchetas (*Gram. de las Obras de Berceo*. 350). It seems plausible.

Dan (sic) çarçillos de *heuilla* de laton byen relusiente 1004.1
dame çarçiellos e *heuilla* — 1004.1 in MS.G

This seems to be the mod. *hebilla*, 'a buckle', 'a clasp', from **fibella*. Cf. M-L 3276. Classical Latin has *fibula*, 'a buckle', 'a brooch'.

muchos bueys castaños, otros *hoscos* e loros 1215.3

hosco from *fuscus* 'dark-colored'

(4) *H* for the Germ. *h* coming to O. Sp. thru the O. Fr.

The Germ. *h* from France existed originally as *h* in the *h*-territory of northern Spain (see p. 71). In the central regions it became *f* because the speech of these regions had no sound analogous to the Gem. *h* (*h* was silent in V. L.). Cf. the *f* for the Germ. *h* in the *Cid*: *fardido*<Fr. *hardi*<Germ. *hartjan*, 443.489. Now in the fourteenth century when the Iberian phenomenon of *h* for *f* is in the speech of the central regions, the *f* (formerly used for the Germ. *h*) becomes *h*: cf. *la muger que la mas hardida*, Corbacho 159; *eran sabidores e hardidos*, Ottas 391. Cf. also J. Ruiz (Cont.):

Media cana e *harpa* conel rrabe morisco 1230.1

Earlier texts show *f* for the Germ. *h*: *ay auie çinfonias, farpa, giga* etc. Alex. 1525. The *f* in *farpa* of the *Alex.* represents the Leonese dialect. Another text shows *f*: *con la farpa de don Tristan* P. Alf. XI. 409

(5) *H* and *f* for the Arabic ḥ[5]

In the *h*-territory of northern Spain the Arabic ḥ existed originally as *h* (see p. 67). In the speech of the central regions the Arabic ḥ existed originally as *f* because the speech of these regions had no sound analogous to it (*h* was silent in V. L.). Cf. the *f* for the Arabic ḥ in the *Cid*[6] (cf. p. 65). Now in the fourteenth century when the Iberian phenomenon of *h* for *f* is in the central regions, the *f* (formerly used for the Arabic ḥ becomes *h*.) Cf. J. Ruiz[7] (Cont.):

busca muger—cabellos amarillos, non sean de *alheña* 432.2

Sp. *alheña*<*alḥinna*. Cf. Baist (R. F. IV. 363); D & E (p. 138). According to D & E *alḥinna* is the name of a shrub of which the leaves are used by women of the Orient for dyeing their nails.

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[5] Wright describes the Arabic *ḥ* (p.5): "A very sharp but smooth guttural aspirate stronger than our *h* but not rough like the *ch* in the Scotch *loch* or the German *rache*."

[6] The *Doc. Ling.* show no case of the *h* for the Arabic aspirates in the central regions until very late. Dozy & Engelmann cite none before the 14th century, nor does Baist (R. F. IV. 345 ff.).

[7] It is a noteworthy fact that no case of the *h* in a word of Arabic origin is known to Dozy and Engelmann nor Baist for any document of central or southern Spain earlier than the *Libro de Buen Amor* by J. Ruiz. The *h-sound* did not exist in these regions before the 14th centurv

non ha syeruo cabtivo que el dinero non le *aforre* 512.3
dieron los ala dueña ante que se *aforrasen* 1125.2

O. Sp. *aforrar* in the sense, 'to set at liberty', 'to free'. O. Sp. *forro,* 'free', 'disengaged', is derived from *ḥorr* which has the same meaning. On *forro* is formed the verb *aforrar*. Cf. D & E (pp. 52.287); Baist (R. F. IV. 365). D & E (p. 52) comment on *ahorrar* 'to economize': "mais M. Müller observe avec raison que ce verbe signifie aussi *épargner, économiser,* et que, pris en ce sens, il vient de *waffara*. En effet, *waffara* a ce sens, bien que Freytag ne le donne pas. Alcala traduit *acaudalar ahorrar en el gasto par waffar.*"

ssy nol dan delas espuelas al cauallo *faron* 641.1
nunca pierde *faronia* nin vale vn pepion 641.2

O. Sp. *faron*<*ḥaron*. D & E (p. 285) translate *ḥaron* by the Fr. *rétif,* 'restive', 'stubborn', 'balky', "qui s'arrête ou qui recule au lieu d'avancer — *caballo haron.*"

luego vos yd de mi puerta, non nos *alhaonedes* 876.4

The meaning seems to be 'don't hinder us'. D & E (p. 286) comment on this very passage as it occurs in Janer's edition 850.3: *non vos alhaonedes*. In speaking of *ḥaron* cited above for vs. 641.1., they say: "Selon toute apparence l'esp. a aussi eu *alharon* avec l'article arabe, car chez l'archiprête de Hita (copl. 850) on trouve le verbe *alhaonarse* pour *alharonarse.*" Baist (R. F. IV. 365) cites *alhaonedes* as occurring in only one Ms. of Ruiz. He

seems to doubt its connection with *ḥaron* but cites no other Arabic form.

almohaça 924.4

Sp. *almohaza,* 'curry-comb', derived from *almoḥassa* which has the same meaning. Cf. D & E (p. 172); Baist (R. F. IV. 364).

fazen conel vyento andar las *athonas* 700.4
atahonas 938.4

O. Sp. *athona atahona,* 'mill', derived from *attaḥona* which has the same meaning. Cf. D & E (p. 208); Baist (R. F. IV. 364). Mod. Sp. has *tahona,* 'a flour-mill', worked by horses or mules, 'a baker's shop', etc.

lyeua te dende apriesa, desbuelue te de aques *hato* 971.2
viejos çapatos, suelas rrotas e paños rotos e viejos *hatos* 1472.2

Mod. Sp. has *hato,* 'clothes', 'wearing apparel'. No form *hato* is known to D & E. For *hato,* 'clothes', M-L 3218 gives the Gothic **fat* 'Kleider.' Baist (R. F. IV. 365) cites from Ruiz the forms given above and insists that they are of Arabic origin: *"ḥazz,* nicht germanisch".

E dame *halia* de buena valya 1036.3

O. Sp. *halia,* 'adornment', from *ḥalî* or *ḥilîa.* Cf. Baist (R. F. IV. 367). D & E (p. 283) cite *ḥalî* or *ḥolî* which they translate by the Fr. *parure.*

almohalla 1076.1

O. Sp. *almohalla*, 'camp', 'army', from *almaḥalla* which D & E (p. 172) translate as "castra, corps d'armée." Cf. also Baist (R. F. IV. 364). *Almofalla* occurs in the *Cid*: 182.660.694.1124.1839.

Rehalas de castilla con pastores de ssoria 1222.1
rrehallas de castiella 1222.1 in MS.G
rreales 1222.1 in MS.T

In the Leonese domain the forms cited above show *f* for the thirteenth century: *o ena rafala uendieren ganado* FSalm 196. *E si dixiere que a ala rafala es, o en caualeria es* FA de T 55. D & E (p. 331) derive these Sp. nouns from an Arabic verb form: "comme le verbe *raḥala* signifie *voyager*, on peut fort bien avoir donné le nom de *reḥala* à l'assemblage de cabanes que les bergers voyageurs dressaient pour y passer la nuit."

segando las ceuadas de todo el *alfoz* 1290.2

O. Sp. *alfoz* from *alḥauz*. Cf. Baist (R. F. IV. 364). D & E (p. 116) say: "Il dérive de l'arabe *al-hauz* qui désigne *canton, district*."

El *alfajeme* pasaua, que venia de ssangrar 1416.1

O. Sp. *alfajeme*, 'barber', from *alḥagêm* which is translated by P. de Alcala as *barbero*. Cf. also D & E (p. 99); Baist (R. F. IV. 362).

(6) *H* and *f* for the Arabic *h*[8] (Ruiz Cont)

[8] The Arabic *h* is described by Wright (p. 5): "*H* has the sound of *ch* is the Scotch word *loch*, or in the Germ. *Rache*."

rremendar bien non sabe todo *alfayate* nuevo 66.2

O. Sp. *alfayate*, 'tailor', from *alhaiyat* which has the same meaning. Cf. D & E (p. 111); Baist (R. F. IV. 357).

las cosas mucho caras, alguna ora son *rrafezes* 102.2
rraheses 1334.3

O. Sp. *rafez rehez* from *rahis*. D & E (p. 329) cites *rafez rehez* (vil, commun) from *rahis*. They go on to say: "au reste, le sens de *rahis*, qui signifie de peu de valeur, sans valeur, s'est modifié en esp., car dans cette langue il a reçu celui de facile." They refer to its use in Berceo. *SDom* 55.

El traidor falso *marfus* 119.2
Vyno dona *marfusa* 332.2
diz luego la *marfusa* 339.3

D & E (p. 103) comment on these citations: "c'est l'arabe *marhous dans le sens de rahis, vil, sans valeur.*"

alfileres 723.2
alhelels 723.2 in MS.G

O. Sp. *alfiler alhelel* from *alhilel*. Cf. D & E (p. 114); also Baist (R. F. IV. 357).

(7) *H* for the Arabic h[9] (Ruiz cont.)

mas *alholis* rrematan, pero non comen pan 556.3

Mod. Sp. has *alfolí*, 'granary', 'magazine of salt'. D & E

[9] The Arabic "h" is described by Wright (p. 5): "*H* is our *h*. It is distinctly aspirated at the end, as well as at the beginning of a syllable."

(p. 139) derive Sp. *alholí* from *alhorî* and write also Lat. *horreum*, 'storehouse'. Baist (R. F. IV. 372) gives *alhorî* and asserts that the Arabic word has no connection with the Lat. *horreum*.

(8) *H* and *f* for the Arabic *f*[10] (Ruiz cont.)

comiença adar *çanahoria* a bestias de estabrias 1272.2
quantia de *çahanorias* rraheses 1334.3

This seems to be the mod. *zanahoria*, 'carrot', for which D & E (p. 224) cite *safonâriyâ*, stating that the Valencian form is *safanoria*.

dixol doña *fulana*: "tyrate alla, pecado!" 1625.3

This is the fem. of the mod. *fulano*. D & E (p. 271) write: "*Fulano* (un tel) de *foulân* qui a le même sens."

In the work of Ruiz (1283?-1350?) we have seen the *h* in the central regions where formerly only the *f* existed (see ch. II. p. 58). As a result of the spread of the Iberian phenomenon of *h* for *f* to the central regions, the *f* of these regions (whatever its origin) becomes *h* in the spoken language. This change from *f* to *h* seems to have occurred for the central regions in the first half of the fourteenth century. No trace of it is found for these regions earlier than the fourteenth century. Whether any one of the citations made from Ruiz represents his actual spellings or not does not matter materially. Important is the fact that the MSS. of his work are fourteenth cen-

[10] The Arabic *f* is described by Wright (p. 6): "*F* is our *f*."

tury documents and that they represent the central regions. In them we have seen the *h*: for the Latin *f*, for the Arabic *f*, for the Arabic aspirates, for the Germanic *h*, in place-names, and in personal-names.

The fifteenth century is a period of great literary development. By this time the phenomenon of *h* for *f* is widely spread throughout Spain. Some writers adhere conservatively to the traditional *f* and spell entirely apart from their pronunciation. Others vacillate in their spelling between *h* and *f*. Notable among those who spell with both *h* and *f* are: F. Yñigo de Mendoza, Juan de Mena, Gómez Manrique, Jorge Manrique, Mosen Diego de Valera, Fernando de Rojas (*Celestina*).

Unfortunately the MSS. available for most of these authors are not localized documents and we cannot say with definiteness what territory is represented. Cases of the *h* for *f* occurring in their works are cited at a later point (ch. IV.).

H for *F* before the diphthong *ue* in Salamanca (XV cent.)

Menéndez Pidal[11] comments on the speech of Salamanca for the fifteenth century as revealed in the writings of J. Encina:

> El habla rústica de Salamanca tuvo desde muy antiguo representación en la literatura. La usa en el paso del siglo XV al XVI en sus *Representaciones y Églogas* Juan del Encina (edic. de la Acad. Esp., 1893); de los cuatro lugares que en

[11] See *El Dialecto Leonés*, p. 142.

> Salamanca llevan el nombre de Encina, el poeta debía ser natural del llamado Encina de San Silvestre, al Sur de Ledesma, pues un pastor Juan, que representa al poeta, se dice ser "de aquesta silvestre Encina."

Encina writes *h* for *f* not only where it stands today in the written language, but also before the diphthong *ue*. The use of *h* before *ue* is contrary to the custom of both the ancient and modern writers. Encina's work shows:

huerte for *fuerte* pp. 4.20.64.65.78.92.95.118.142.144.
huertemente for *fuertemente* pp. 80.85
huera for *fuera* p. 229
huerza for *fuerza* p. 230
hu for *fué* p. 238

Menéndez Pidal believes that Encina (1469?-1529?) represents the speech of territory to the south of Ledesma. If this is Encina's native land, it did not have the phenomenon of *h* for *f* in the thirteenth century, evidenced by the phonetic conditions revealed in the *Fuero de Ledesma* (XIII cent.). No case of *h* for *f* occurs in that document. Before the diphthong *ue* we find invariably the *f*. As for the Arabic ḥ it is either not represented at all: *ata*<*ḥatta* 27: *asta*<*ḥatta* 78.80.130.160, or represented by *f*: *fasta*<*ḥatta* 2.7.37.39.53.154; *alfaya*<*alḥâga* 217. Similar conditions prevail in the *FSalamanca* (XIII cent.) and in the *FAlba de Tormes* (XIII cent.) both of the province of Salamanca. In view of these facts it is safe to conclude that the *h* spread to Salamanca after

the thirteenth century or at least after the time of the composition of the *Fueros* cited.

It would be an error to regard Encina as the only fifteenth century poet who reveals the rustic speech. In the *Canc. del Siglo XV* we find for F. Yñigo de Mendoza: *huerte* 18b.20a.20b.21a.21b; *huertemente* 21b; *huego* 37a; for J. Alvarez Gato: *huego* 226b.256b.263a; for Hernán Mexía: *huego* 269b.285a.

There is no evidence that the phenomenon of *h* for *f* before the diphthong *ue* existed before the literary period. In the domain of the primitive Castile contiguous to the Iberian-Basque where we found *h* for *f* in the twelfth century, we find only *f* before *ue*. We judge, therefore, that the loss of the *f* before *ue*, e. g. in *fortem*>*huerte* does not go back to the preliterary period. The earliest case of *h* for *f* before *ue* known to this study is that cited for Encina. Baist who knows the ancient texts so well cites no case of *h* for *f* before *ue* earlier than the fifteenth century. In speaking briefly of the alternation of *h* and *f* he says (R. F. IV. 356):

> Ich habe zwar in dieser Stellung im 15. Jh. nur *huelgo* f. *fuelgo* v. *holgar, huente,* f. *fuente* notirt, aber verschiedene Zeugnisse lassen keinen Zweifel, dass im 16. Jh. nicht allein das schriftgemässe *huesa,* sondern auch *hue, hueron, huego,* etc. volkstümlich waren.

The loss of the *f* before *ue* seems to have originated during the period of the spread of the *h*. It evidently took on extended proportions during the sixteenth cen-

tury.[12] As the phenomenon of *h* for *f* spread, it quickly caught the ear of the people and was extended to practically every *f*.[13]

Since the rustic speech of Salamanac in Encina's time had *huerte* for *fuerte, huera* for *fuera,* etc., it is not improbable that it had also *hácil* for *fácil, hiesta* for *fiesta,* etc. and that these pronunciations failed to be recorded

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[12] See Lucas Fernández, a native of Salamanca. His *Farsas y Églogas* (Edic. Acad. Esp., 1867) show: *hú* for *fué* pp. 7, 18, 144, 184; *hué* for *fuí* p. 165; *huego* for *fuego* pp. 3, 44, 63, 109; *huerte* for *fuerte* p. 34. This use of *h* for *f* before *ue* seems to have led to the pronunciation of the non-etymological *h* before *ue,* e. g. the *h* in *huevo, hueso,* etc. The aspirate sound in such cases adopted by good speakers was confused with that of the *g* (in *guarda, agüero,* etc.) in the speech of the unlearned. Cf. Valdés (*Diál.* p. 368): "Hay algunos que ponen *g* donde yo pongo *h* y dicen guevo, guerto, guesso; a mí oféndeme el sonido, y por eso tengo por mejor la *h.*" A little farther on (p. 372) he says: "Yo siempre dejo estar la *h,* porque me ofende toda pronunciación adonde se junta la *g* con la *u,* por el feo sonido que tiene." Cf. also Villalón (Viñaza 1115): "Hay mucha costumbre en Castellanos que dicen *guarte* y *huarte, guebos* y *huevos, guerta* y *huerta, fuente* y *guente.*"

[13] Cf. Cuervo (*Apunt.* p. 550). "Ya en las obras castellanas más antiguas se notan casos de la conversión de *f* en *h* (v. gr. *prohio*=porfío: *Reyes Magos,* 5); poco a poco va aumentándose el número de palabras en que esto sucede, y ya en el Diccionario de Nebrija (1493) se hallan divididas las que llevan *f* y las que llevan *h* casi en la misma proporción que reconoce hoy el lenguaje culto. El popular pasó mucho más adelante y transformó todas las efes iniciales, y aun las medias, según lo echamos hoy de ver, así en España como en América, donde el vulgo a cada paso dice *jué, juera, ajuera, jirme, jácil,* y conserva la misma pronunciación en las voces en que el habla pulida hace muda la *h; jarto* (ant. *farto,* lat. *fartus*), *jecho* (fecho, *factus*), *jeder* (feder, *foetere*), *jierro* (fierro, *ferrum*), *jijo* (fijo, *filius*), *retajila,* etc. El vulgo de nuestros campos llega a decir *ojrecer, jrente.* Esta aspiración no es pues cosa desatentada, sino hecho tradicional, fundado en la etimología; por eso no debe echarse en olvido al investigar el origen de las palabras: así la pronunciación *jacha* condena la etimología latina (*ascia*) y abona la germánica."

and handed down to us. We must suppose that if the Castilian dialect had been left entirely to its own popular development, it would have lost the *f* completely. From early times the Church exerted an influence toward the preservation of the *f*. Ecclesiastical Latin was the channel through which the Spanish language, as well as the French and Italian, derived its first intellectual and literary impulse. The Latin of the Church doubtless saved the *f* in such words as: *fama, forma, fatal, faz, familia, fe,* etc. After the Church Meyer-Lübke (G. I. 24) cites the influence of the Law which introduced into Spanish legal terms from the literary Latin. Hanssen (G. p. 5) cites the influence of the French, the Provencal, and the Italian. In his opinion the influence of the Portuguese and the Catalan is secondary.

H for *F* in Andalucía (XV cent.)

In a document of Granada dated 1492 we find:

hazerse, hazer, hebrero (*febrero*) Doc. Ling. 480

These are the earliest cases of *h* for *f* found for Andalucía in a collection of thirty documents covering the period 1235-1492. They seem late, but it is not likely that Andalucia had the *h* for *f* before the fifteenth century. Situated at the southern extremity of the peninsula Andalucía came late under the influence of the primitive Castile (N. Burgos) which was the original domain of the *h* for *f*. It is true that Jaén, Córdoba, and Sevilla were taken from the Moors in the thirteenth century, but

the Christians who moved southward to inhabit these reconquered regions were for the most part from territory[14] to the south of the River Tajo (Toledo, Cáceres, etc.) which in the thirteenth century did not have the *h* for *f* (see p. 61). Some few Christians from the kingdoms of Castile and León moved by the desire for wealth — and even foreigners from outside nations — flocked to Córdoba and Sevilla in the thirteenth century after the Moors had been driven out (*Doc. Ling.* 448). The speech of these Andalusian regions was a mixture of the languages of the new-comers. Menéndez Pidal states the case with regard to the language (*Doc. Ling.* 449):

> El lenguaje de una población tan mezclada, aunque fundamentalmente castellano, tenía que sufrir continuas influencias externas. Los diplomas notariales, en general se redactaban en castellano, pero no dejaban de extenderse en otros idiomas o dialectos, sobre todo en los comienzos de la repoblación.

Sevilla was a cosmopolitan town in the thirteenth century with no official language. Johan Garci "escrivano de Seuilla" writes a will in gallego in the year 1285 (*Doc. Ling.* 449). A document of the year 1235 shows Asturian influences (*Doc. Ling.* 449). The speech of the regions bordering on the Moorish kingdom of Granada was a mixture of Spanish and Arabic[15] (*Doc. Ling.* 448). The

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[14] Cf. M. Pidal, *Doc. Ling.* p. 448.

[15] Very few Arabic words occur in documents of Andalucía According to M. Pidal (*Doc. Ling.* 449) the Archivo Histórico contains very few documents from Andalusian monasteries valuable for an early study of the language. He presents a number of

frontier wars against the kingdom of Granada lasted nearly two centuries until finally in 1492 the Catholic Kings took Granada and completed the reconquest. Castile which in the first half of the ninth century occupied only the northern corner of the present day province of Burgos now dominated the entire peninsula. Coincident with her territorial expansion had been the propagation and development of her speech and in it the phenomenon of *h* for *f*.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century many writers vacillate between *h* and *f* about equally. The spelling stands: *hablar fablar, hacer facer, hijo fijo.* Involuntarily poets, historians, and writers generally, spell more or less phonetically while at the same time they hark back to the Mediaeval Latin, the Ecclesiastical Latin, and early Spanish writings, for their models. The time is ripe for a fixed orthography to which writers can turn from the chaotic spelling of the Middle Ages. In 1492 Antonio de Nebrija, one of the leading spirits of the Renaissance, who had studied in Italy and who knew the teachings of the Latin grammarians, laid down the laws of spelling in his *Arte de la Lengua Castellana.* Cuervo states very aptly the stand taken by Nebrija (*Disquisiciones,* p. 1):

> Guiándose por Quintiliano y los gramáticos antiguos, asentaba como axioma que "asi tenemos de escrivir como pronunciamos y pronunciar como es-

documents from the archives of Sevilla about sixteen from Córdoba, and a number from military orders which occupied territory to the north of Andalucía.

crivimos" y anhelaba aplicarlo lo mismo al latín que al castellano.

In accordance with his theory that one should write as he pronounces, Nebrija rules the silent and useless Latin *h* from the orthography and spells: *ombre, onor, eredero.* He reserves the character *h* to represent the aspirated *f*: e. g. in *fabulāre* > *hablar, facere* > *hacer.* Writers of the sixteenth century follow the dictum[16] of Nebrija in the use of *h* for the aspirated *f*, but they persist in using the silent *h* in words which had the *h* in Latin, e. g. in *hombre*<*hominem.* In his *Tesoro* 1611, Covarrubias restores the Latin *h* in imitation of the Latin orthography: *hombre, honor, heredero,* etc.

The *h* of *hacer*<*facere* was a vigorous aspirate in the sixteenth century. It is silent today, but the mute *h* still stands in the written language as a living testimony of how the Iberian *h* silenced the Latin *f*. The ancient Iberian *h* is not entirely silent in Spain. It still sounds for the Latin *f* in the popular speech of Santander, East Asturias, Salamanca, Andalucía, and even in America.

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[16] Some texts printed after the dictum of Nebrija in 1492 vacillate between *h* and *f*. See the *Doc. de la Catedral de Toledo* pub. by the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid, 1916, for the year 1499: *faze, fojas,* etc. See *Celestina* printed in Burgos 1499; also *Amadis de Gaula,* ed. 1519; also the *Chrónica del Rey don Guillermo de Ynglaterra* printed in Toledo 1526. The *Paleografía Diplomática Española de los Siglos XII al XVII,* pub. by J. Muñoz y Rivero, shows for the years 1558, 1560, 1603, 1619, 1632: *fize aqui este mio signo* + (pp. 467, 468, 482, 487, 493). This seems to be the continuation of an ancient form of signature. See the same document for the year 1406 (p. 422): *fis aqui mio signo* +.

IV. Isolated Cases of H for the Latin F to the End of the XV Century.

Our division of ancient Spain into *h*-territory and *f*-territory is based on paleographic documents of which both the time and the place are known. In view of this fact we are at liberty to cite cases of the *h* from ancient documents of which the original place is generally indefinite or unknown. Most of the texts cited in this chapter are included by Menéndez Pidal in the bibliography of his edition of the *Cantar de Mio Cid.* They have, therefore, been judged by him as being valuable in a study of the early period of the language. Many of these texts are paleographic editions, giving the date of their composition.

In the documents used to determine the original domain of the *h* and that of the *f* we saw Spanish in its nascent form. In the last years of the reign of Alfonso VIII (1158-1214), Spanish began to replace Latin in certain royal documents. In the reign of Fernando III (1217-1252) and that of Alfonso X (1252-1284), Spanish became the official language.

To the archaic period belong the literary productions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the *Auto Magos,* the *Cantar del Cid,* the *Crónica General,* the *Fuero Juzgo,* the *Partidas* of Alfonso X, the works of Berceo and other writings. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which we may regard as the preclassical period, we see a marked advance in linguistic development over the earlier period. The works of such writers as J. Manuel (*Lucanor*) and the Arcipreste de Talavera (*Corbacho*) exercise an in-

vigorating influence on the development of Spanish and prepare it for the great writers of the classical period (XVI cent.): Fernando de Rojas (*Celestina* 1499), Fray Luis de Granada, Santa Teresa, Fray Luis de León, and Cervantes (*Quijote*).

The isolated cases of the *h* for *f* cited in this chapter have been gleaned from documents of the archaic period and the preclassical period when the language is still in the process of development and has no fixed orthography. In the sixteenth century the *h* and *f* stand divided in literature about as they do today. Citations are made to the end of the fifteenth century:

Auto Magos (XII cent.)

(M. Pidal, *Gram. del Cid*. p. 144, states that the script of the *Auto* resembles that of a document of Oña dated 1144. The *Auto* may have originated in Cantabria, *h*-territory.)

en todo, en todo lo *prohio* 12

Prohio, for the mod. *porfío*, points to O. Sp. *prohiar* from V. L. o*profidāre*. M-L (6409) derives the mod. *profía* and *porfiar* from *perfidia* which is stressed on the antepenult. They show influence on the second syllable of the ī of *fīdus* and seem to come from a V. L. form *porfidāre* based directly on *fīdus, -a, -um* (cf. Ford. O. S. R. 270).

Berceo (1180?-1247?):

Berceo was a native of the *h*-territory of Cantabria (cf. p. 67). If we take him at his word he aims to express himself in the speech of the people:

Quiero fer vna prosa en roman paladino
en qual el pueblo suele fablar con su uezino
ca non so tan letrado por fer otro latino. (SDom.2)

There is probably an element of modesty expressed in the last verse, for he is familiar with the Latin script and in the verses cited adheres to the traditional spelling in *fer* and *fablar* which in his daily speech he pronounces *jer* and *jablar*.

The following citations are from J. D. Fitz-Gerald's paleographic edition of the *SDomingo de Silos*:

tenjalo *reherido* fuera del sanctuario 123.4

reherido from Romance composition of *re-+herir* or else directly from V. L. *referīre*.

conquisco *Calahora* 129.2

A place-name. Another MS. of the *SDom.* shows *Calaforra*. Berceo's spelling of this place-name is like that cited for Cantabria from the *Doc. Ling.* (see p. 37).

fascas non aujan nengun sostenimiento 188.4
auia *hascas* perdido la mano de dolor 443.2
ca *hascas* non podia comer 539.4

The form *fascas* with the value of the mod. *casi* is common in O. Sp. texts. M-L (3128) writes s. v. *facere*: "kalabr. *fakka* als ob. span. *hascas* fast."

Contra tierras de Lara *haza* vna contrada yaze un monesterio 265.1

haza from *faz* (*facie*)+*a* (*ad*)[1]

auja ensu iglesia Moros *harropeados* 433.2
ve al mi monesterio con estas *ferropeas* 664.2
elli los menazaua de meter en *farropeas* 735.3

In *harropeados* we see the past part. of *harropear* from *ferrum*+*pedāre*. M-L (3262) derives *herropea* from *ferru*+*pede*.

The following citations from Berceo are from Janer's editions (B. A. E. 57):

hazanna SMill 262; Mill 1446
fazanna SMill 122; SOria 52

M-L (3128) writes these forms s. v. *facere*.

Costaronli bien caras las *rehyertas* que dieron SMill 293

rehyerta from *referta*. Cf. M-L (7152).

herido Mil 101
hagas Mil 177; Duelo 98

hascas Mil 464
fascas SOria 162

haba (Lat. *faba*) Mil 591

harta (Lat. *fartus, -a, -um*) Mil 778

rehusar (Lat. *refusāre*) Duelo 75

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[1] Cf. Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* II, 282; also M. Pidal, *G. del Cid*, p. 683: "*faza*—de *faz a*—*faza* significa 'hasta' y 'hacia' en un mismo documento Toledano."

hizo SOria 96

Alfonso X el Sabio (*Privilegios, Cédulas*):

(18 de junio de 1255)—
Et los *hijosdalgo* que son o sean pobladores en Burgos, MHist I 69.
doles etotorgoles a todos los *fijosdalgo,* MHist I 68.

31 de enero de 1265)—
Por *hacer* bien — MHist I 217.
et para *facer* — MHist I 217.

(27 de mayo de 1273)—
los *hijos* dalgo, MHist I 292.
los *fijos* dalgo, MHist I 292

(28 de marzo de 1280)—
e para *hacer* — MHist II 18.
e para *facer* — MHist II 18.

(15 de julio de 1281)—
e con mis *hijos*, el infante Don Sancho, *fijo* maior — por *hacer* — MHist II 45.
e con nuestros *fijos*, — *hijo mayor,* MHist II 46.

Alfonso el Sabio (*Opúsculos*):

si el *hijo* mayor del rey — I 48
si el *hijo* mayor del rey — I 48

hijodalgo II 216
fijodago II 216.218

hace II 241
haciendo II 265

Crón. Gen (1289):

(The *Crónica General* was begun in the reign of Alfonso X toward the year 1270 and continued under Sancho IV in 1289. Many of its parts are translations from the Latin historians and naturally preserve the *f*)

hija 119a
hascas 721a

Fascas with the value of the mod.*casi* is common: *fascas tod el poder del sennorio,* Cron 22a. *fascas toda la filosophya,* Cron 222a.

Estoria Godos:

(Written between the years 1236 and 1243. The MS. is of the last third of the XIII cent.).

herido 24.98

Buenos Proverbios:

(XIII cent. speech, XIV cent. MS.)

hizo 45

Sem Tob *(Proverbios):*

hartar 388

J. Manuel *(Obras):*

hacer 284a
huyen 381b

hijosdalgo 393a
hijos 393a, 429b
hascas 439a

J. Manuel (*Caza.* MS. XV cent.):

çahondan 7.26
For mod. *zahondan* from *suffundāre.*
humo 17.4
From *fumus.*
hozes 88.15
From *fauces.*

FSepúlveda:

hacer 19
hijo 23

Arcipreste de Talavera (*Corbacho.* MS. 1466):
(In the prepartion of his text the editor uses MS.A of Sevilla 1498 and MS.B of Toledo 1500).

hija 11
haria 116 in MSS.A and B
hijo 128
hilar 134 in MSS.A and B
hecho 136 in MSS.A and B

F. Yñgo de Mendoza (*Canc. del Siglo* XV):

The *h*-forms dominate. The following are the vacillating forms:

hablar 24a occurs frequently
fablar 116a

habla (noun) 13a
fabla (noun) 103b

hazer 6a frequent
fazer 72b

hecho 6a frequent
fecho 7a.102b

hago 19a.19b
fago 112b

haze 6b frequent
faze 105a

hazen 26b frequent
fazen 102b

hagas 20a.22a
fagas 103a.113a

haga 18a frequent
faga 2a.72b

hagan 14b.46b
fagan 2a.101a.118a

hare 35a.110b
fare 100a

hize 120b
fize 113b.112b

hizo 17b frequent
fizo 72b

hizieron 15a frequent
fazieron 111b.115a

Suero de Ribera (*Canc. del Siglo* XV):

In most of his verses the *f* is preserved. In the *Coplas que hizo Suero de Ribera sobre la gala,* the *h* occurs:

hazer 193a.194b.194b
hizo 195b
hablo 194b
hablar 194b

J. de Dueñas (*Canc. del Siglo* XV):

hazer 199a
haran 199b
hermosa 200b.202b
hago 203b
hambre 203b

J. de Mena (*Canc. del Siglo* XV):

There is great variation in the use of *h* and *f* in the works of Juan de Mena. In his *Laberinto de Fortuna* the *f* is preserved. In *Claro escuro* (p. 183) the *h* stands about as it does today. In *Otras Suyas,* a

collection of short poems, the *f* dominates with isolated cases of the *h*:

hazer 186b.194b.196a.197a
hecho 186a.197a
heridas 192a
hijo 187b
hijas 193b
hermosas 186b

F. Pérez de Guzmán (*canc. del Siglo* XV):
The *f* dominates. The isolated cases of the *h* are:

haga 672a
haze 672a
Hijo 672b.673a.675b
heciste 675b

J. Alvarez Gato (*Canc. del Siglo* XV)
The *h* and *f* stand divided about as they do in present day orthography except that he writes *h* before *ue*:

huego for *fuego* 226b.256b.263a

Hernán Mexía (*canc. del Siglo* XV)
The *h* and *f* stand as in present day orthography except in the cases noted:

huego 269b.285a

Gómez Manrique (*canc. del Siglo* XV):
The *f dominates*. The isolated cases of the *h* are:

hazer 28.35
harto 29.211
hierro 188
herrero 35b

Jorge Manrique (1440-1478):
In the *Coplas que fizo don Jorge Manrique por la muerte de su padre*, the *f* dominates. The isolated cases of the *h* are:

hazañas 231b
honda 231b
hazaña 233a

In the remainder of his verses the h dominates.
A few words vacillate between *h* and *f*.

herir 245b.246a
ferir 245b

huego 247a
fuegos 244b

Antonio de Velasco (*Canc. del Siglo* XV):
The *h* dominates with vacillation:

hize 621a.623b
fizo 621a

J. Rodríquez de la Cámara (*Siervo libre de Amor*)
The *h* dominates with vacillation:

hazes 42.51
fazes 41

hijo 44.48.53
fijo 51

F. Ambrosio Montesino (*Canc.*):
The *h* dominates with vacillation in the word noted:

hermosura 411a.420b.438a.438b.451a
fermosura 410b

J. de Padilla (*Canc. del Siglo* XV. *Triunfos de los doce Apóstoles*):
The *h* dominates. Two words vacillate:

hacia 411a
fazia 428a

hechos (noun) 407b
fechos (noun) 351a

Rodrigo de Cota (*Diálogo del Amor y un Viejo*):
The *h* dominates. A few words vacillate:

hare 582a.586a
fare 582b

hago 583a.584a
fago 583a

hazer 583b.584a.
facer 591a

Libro de los Engaños (MS.XV cent.):
The *f* dominates. The isolated cases of the *h* are:

hiziere 24
hijo 25
holgase 34
hecha 43
hazer 52

Crónica de Don Juan II:
The *f* is slightly more frequent than the *h*. The following vacillations are cited from the first twenty chapters:

hacer 114
facer 84.85.86.94.96.99.101

haciendo 92
faciendo 88

hizo 112
fizo 94 frequent

hicieron 87.93
ficieron 91.95.104.109

hablado 81
fablado 91.99

hijo 109
fijo 87.91

Diego del Castillo (*Canc. del Siglo* XV):
In the *Vision sobre la muerte del rey don Alfonso*, the *f* is preserved. In *Otras* (see p. 277) the *h* occurs:

heziste 226b
huya 227b
hazañas 227b
habla 228b

Alfonso de Palencia (*Dos Tratados*)
The *f* dominates with isolated cases of the *h*:

hincados 48
hosco 53
haçañas 56

Diego Enríquez del Castillo (*Crón. del Rey Enrique* IV):
The *h* occurs in about two thirds of the cases. The following vacillations are cited from the first twenty-five chapters:

hablar 100b.105a
fablare 100b

hacer 101a.101b.103a.107a.108b.112a
facer 106b. 107a

hizo 101b.111a.112a.
fizo 106b.107b

Mosén Diego de Valera (*Memorial de Diversas Frañas*):
The following vacillations are cited from the first ten chapters:

hacer 4b.6a.7a.7b.8b
facer 5a.6b.8b.10b.12b.13a

hizo 5b
fizo 5a.5b.7b.12b.13b

hicieron 5a
ficieron 6a.7b.11a

huir 6a
fuir 9a

hurtado 11b
furtado 11b

Diego Rodríguez de Almella (*Valerio de las Historias*):
The vacillations of the first twenty-five pages are:

haciendo 2
faciendo 2.19

hicieron 6.10
ficieron 23

hiciessen 5.18
ficiesse 18

herida 16
ferida 20.22.23

Hernando del Pulgar (*Crón. de los Señores Reyes Católicos*):
The following vacillations are cited from the first ten chapters:

hacer 243b.248b
facer 243a.247a.249a.251a

hijo 241b.245b.246a
fijo 241b.249b

hija 242a.242b
fija 249a.249b

Andrés Bernáldez (*Hist. de los Reyes Católicos*):
The *h* dominates. The vacillating forms of the first ten chapters are:

hijo 570a.574b
fijo 573b.575b

hacia 573b
facia 572b

hecho 570b.572a
fecho 577b

hizo 571a.572b.573a.574b.575b
fizo 570b.573b.575b

hicieron 571a.574b
ficieron 571b.574a.577a

Gutierre Díaz de Gámez (*Crón. de don Pedro Niño*):
The *f* is preserved except in one case:

hacen 9

Ruy González de Clavijo (*Gran Tamorlán*):
The *f* is preserved except in one case:

deshizo 124

El Bachiller Palma (*Retribución*, MS.XV cent.):
The *f* is preserved except in the following cases:

hermosamente 44
hazannas 67
hondas 89

Clemente Sánchez de Vercial (*Enxemplos*):
The *f* is preserved with an isolated case of the *h*:

hijos 501a

Don Alvaro de Luna (*Claras Mujeres*):
The *f* is preserved except in:

hizo 47
hacian 177

Gatos:
The *f* is preserved except in:
hijos 501a

Alfonso de la Torre (*Vision Delectable*):
The vacillations of the first ten chapters are:

hacer 344a.345b
facer 342a.350a

hizo 347a
fizo 349a.349b.350a

hablar 342a.343b.346b.347a
fablar 342b.350a.353b

hijo 342b.351a
fijo 342a.348a

hermosa 347b.352b
fermoso 347a

Castigos y Doctrinas (MS.XV cent.):
The *h* dominates. The following are the vacillating forms:

hazer 262 frequent
fazer 263.264

haziendo 261 frequent
faziendo 270

haze 269 frequent
faze 292

hazen 278 frequent
fazen 273

hazian 270
fazian 289

hermoso 262 frequent
fermoso 255

hija 255 frequent
fija 272.278

Juan de Lucena (*Vida Beata*):
The *f* is preserved except in:

hazienda 140
hascas 144

El Gran Capitán (*Carta a los Reyes Católicos* 1492):
The *f* dominates with isolated cases of the *h*:

hagays 300
haga 300

Crón. Pop. del Cid (Pub. in Sevilla 1498):
The *h* dominates. The following are the vacillations:

hijo 7b
fijos 5b

hacer 6b.9b.10b
faziendo 4b

Celestina (Printed in Burgos 1499):
The *h* dominates slightly. The first twenty pages show:

hazer 9.12
fazer 1.12.17

hablar 10
fablar 13.14

hermosura 1.10
fermosura 9

From the beginning of the sixteenth century the texts

show *h* and *f* divided about as they are in present day orthography. See the documents of the *Paleografía Diplomática Española* by J. Muñoz y Rivero, Madrid, 1917 and the prose extracts published by Menéndez Pidal in his *Antología de Prosistas Castellanos*, Madrid, 1917.

PART II

I. Inorganic H and F in Words of Latin Origin

We have seen that from early times until about the end of the thirteenth century the *h* existed in Cantabria and its environs while the *f* occupied practically all the rest of Spain. As a result of the aspirate influences which existed in northern Spain, a few Latin words which had neither *h* nor *f* in the original became aspirated forms in Spanish:

Hallar<*afflāre*)	*allar*	*fallar*
Haz<*acies*)	*az*	*faz*
Henchir<*implēre*)	*enchir*	*fenchir*
Hinchar<*inflāre*)	*inchar*	*finchar*
Hinojos<*genuculos*	*inojos*	*finojos*

In the three different spellings of the same Spanish word we see three equally ancient and different pronunciations which existed side by side in ancient Spain from remote antiquity until the end of the fifteenth century when the *h*-forms triumphed and came down to modern times. In view of the fact that there existed in northern Spain a primitive domain of the *h* and the fact that the texts show the *h*-forms to be as early as the *f*-forms, there is little ground for the theory: *hallar*<*fallar*<*afflāre*. *Hallar* is itself a primary form and does not presuppose an earlier *fallar*. *Hallar* is a product of *h*-territory, *fallar*

of *f*-territory. Of primary importance are all the *h*-forms cited above, for they alone came down through the ages to appear in the written language of the present day. They alone could come down to the present because they were essentially the property of the Castilian dialect which developed socially and politically over the other dialects and gave to Spanish the phenomenon of *h* for *f*. In the case of *allar* and *fallar*, for example, their day in literature ends with the triumph of the *h* for *f* in the written language at the end of the fifteenth century. Of the forms cited above only the ancient variants of the mod. *hallar* occur frequently in the localized texts which were used to determine the original domain of the *h* and that of the *f*. We are, therefore, unable to trace each *h*-form to its original domain. In the case of *hallar*, however, it will be shown that it originated in Cantabria, the primitive domain of the *h*.

In all these variant forms we see the result of a reciprocal speech relation which existed between the domain of the *h* and that of the *f*. It is reasonable to suppose that from early times and particularly during the period of the reconquest the *h*-territory and the *f*-territory were constantly changing. The speech no doubt varied from one small place to another. In some places aspiration existed, whence the *h*-forms. In other places it did not exist, whence the *f*-forms etc.

Most of the variant forms cited in this chapter occur in ancient Castilian texts which contain no specific data as to the place of their origin:

Hallar *allar* *fallar*

(1) Of the forms that have ended in the mod. *hallar* we are able to show that *allar(axar)* is essentially a product of the Leonese domain where, as we have seen, the *h* was practically unknown (cf. p. 50):

todo omne que for *allado* FJuzgo I.6
alamos escripto del nuestro Sennor FJuzgo I.6
si alguno for *allado* FJuzgo I.7.10
assi como *ayare* en derecho Muçoz Colecc. 142n
si compra non *axare* Muñoz Colecc. 181
E si su enemigo despues lo *axare* FSal. 14
Qui oueyas *axare* enlas uinas FSal. 67
qui lo hy *axar* FSal. 74
equi lo *axar,* tome le todo elo FSal. 83
Qui moro o mora *axar* FSal. 109
axaren en su cabildo FSal. 119
et qui lo *axare,* prendalo FSal. 154
si no le *axaren* en uila FSal. 170
equi lo *axare,* prenda lo FSal. 186
prendan lo, quilo *axare* FSal. 344
E quien oueyas *axar* enlas uinnas FLed. 36
Quien moro o mora *fallar* con furtu FLed. 57
non axaren en lla uilla FLed. 110
Moro o mora que fuyr, quienllo *axar* FLed. 179
E esse auer quelle *axaren* FLed. 190
quienlas *axaren* FLed. 233
Equien — su heredade *axaren* FLed. 322
E si algun uizino *azaren* FLed. 369
selo *axar* ena uilla FZam. 10
polo primero furto enquelo *axaren* FZam. 50

In view of the constant occurrence of *allar azar* in Leonese documents, it is safe to conclude that *fallar hallar* do not naturally belong to the Leonese domain.[1] It is true that the documents of the Monastery of Sahagun edited by E. Staaf show generally *fallar*, but Staaf tells us (p. 178) that the Sahagun documents represent territory contiguous to the domain of the Castilian and show even from the beginning of the thirteenth century a strong Castilian influence. The Sahagun documents represent a dialect intermediate between the Castilian and the Leonese (cf. Staaf. 178).

(2) For the Navarro-Aragonese dialect the *Documentos diplomáticos aragoneses* and the *Documents des archives de Navarre* show invariably *fallar*. There are evidences, however, that developments of *afflāre* were not aspirated in parts of the domain of the Navarro-Aragonese. The *P. de Yuçuf* shows:

allaron for *fallaron* in MS.A 15b
allaron for *fallaron* in MS.B 14b

The *Glosas Silenses* show:

deuenerit=non *aflaret* 5
proditum=*aflatu* fueret 8
invenitur=*aflatu* p.15n

(3) For the Castilian domain the most ancient documents of the great central and southern regions show

[1] Cf. M. Pidal (*G. del Cid*, p. 681). "La forma leonesa, como la portuguesa carece de la *f*."

fallar (cf. *Doc. Ling.*). The cases are so numerous that citations seem unnecessary. For Soria, one of the north central regions, the *Cid*[2] *shows fallar* 32.424.796.832.849 1264.1313.1427.1468.1676.1737.1775.1864.2777. For Cantabria which was the original domain of the *h*, *afflāre* became *hallar*. Berceo shows:

Halló Mil 338
hallaredes Mil 424
hallaremos Mil 425

To account for the *h* in *hallar*[3] we may suppose an early aspiration of the first *f* of *afflāre*. If this theory be accepted, we may suppose an intermediate form *hahflāre* whose initial *h* is due to anticipation of the aspirate sound at the end of the first syllable or is due to onomatopoeia.

In the fifteenth century *hallar* and *fallar* occur in literature side by side with *hacer* and *facer*. In the *Canc. del Ciglo* XV we find for F. Yñigo de Mendoza:

hallamos 69b
fallan 108b
hazer 69b
fazen 72b

Only *hallar* is found after the end of the fifteenth century.

Haz	*az*	*faz*

[2] See p. 58.

[3] For the change of sense from Lat. *afflare* 'to breath upon' to Sp. *hallar* 'to find' see: H. Schuchardt, *Zeit.* XXXII, 231; M-L., *Zeit.* XXXI, 578; Ford, O. Sp. R. 226; Carolina Michaëlis, *Rev. Hisp.* VII, 1900, p. 19n.

Of these ancient forms only *haz* has come down to modern times. It is recorded in the Dictionary of the Academy 14th ed.1914:

> *Haz* (Del lat. *acies*, ejército, cuerpo de tropas ordenado) m. Tropa ordenada o formada en trozos o divisiones. Tropa formada en filas.

According to the Dictionary the mod. *haz* has a non-etymological *h*. Because of the vacillating *h* and *f* in the ancient forms and the etymon set forth in the Dictionary, I have been led to classify *haz* with words having an inorganic *h*, *i. e.* with *hallar*, *henchir* etc. It may be, however, that the mod. *haz* has an *h* which developed from a Latin *f*. *Facies*, and not *acies*, may be at the base of the mod. *haz*. *Facies* and *acies* were confused in Low Latin. Du Cange (s. v. *facies*) cites *facies* as taking the place of the C. L. *acies* in the sense 'edge' of a sword:

> *Facies gladii*, ut in sacris Scripturis *Os* gladii. *Acies*, Gall. *Fil de l'épée*. In *Facie* gladii ceperunt (civitatem) in Ogerii Panis Annal Genuensibus ad ann. 1204.

In an ancient edition of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* we read (s. v. *facies*): "acies et facies confunduntur a librariis." No useful examples of the confusion are offered, however. The *librarius* was a transcriber or copyist quite as often as a dealer in books. No case is known to this investigation in which *facies* takes the place of *acies*[5] in the

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[4] See *Basilii Fabri Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticae*, 1735, Vol. I.

[5] No such case occurs in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae editus*

sense, 'army', 'battle line', and yet the ancient *faz* and *haz* seem to reflect *facies*. Could it happen that Latin contributed to Spanish both *acies* and *facies* in the sense 'army', 'battle line', and that from *acies* developed O. Sp. *az*[6] while from *facies* came O. Sp. *faz* > *haz*.? The examples follow:

Las *azes* de los moros Cid 700
Todos fieren enel *az* Cid 722
En las *azes* primeras el Campeador entraua Cid 2396
Las *ases* son acabdilladas Cron. Rim 1095
Armadas son las *ases* Cron. Rim 1098
azes de huestes Cant.VI
e sere yo y contigo en aquella *az* Cron. Alf X 129
en aquella *az* C C caualleros Cron. Alf X 131
los moros en el campo, sus *azes* paradas Cron. Alf X 132
párense todos cinco en *az* FBrih. 128
las *azes* de los grifones Ottas 409

In C. C. Marden's paleographic edition of the P. *Fernán González*, *az*, *faz*, *haz* occur side by side in the usual sense of the Lat. *acies*, 'army', 'body of troops':

Enderesço sus *fazes* en vn fermoso prado 309
Con sus *azes* paradas saliol a rresçebyr 310
Ferye entre las *fazes* 311
ovyeron por (pura) fuerça las *fazes* a rronper 319
Ordeno las sus *azes* 359

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auctoritate et concilio academiarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis Gottigensis Lipsiensis Monarchensis Vindobonensis, A-F (incomplete), Leipzig, 1900-1924, s. v. *facies* and *acies*.

[6] M. Pidal (*G. del Cid* 491) derives *az* in the *Cid* from *acies*.

Andava por las *azes* 364
Metyo se por las *azes* 365
(De) todo el tu pueblo fazer lo as tres *fazes* 412
Entre la otrra *faz* de parte doçidente 413
Estos con el buen conde en *haz* fueron entrrados 459
Dexemos esta *faz* toda muy byen parada 453
la otra *haz* (a) guisada 453
estos caberos todos en la *haz* mediana 457
Estos con el buen conde en *haz* fueron entrrados 459
Sus *azes* byen paradas 463
Las *fazes* fueron puestas commo les fue mandado 483
Las *azes* fueron puestas 484
Rronpya todas las *hazes* que frronteras estavan 486
Andava por las *azes* commo leon fanbryento 487
Don Gustyo Gonçalez que el otrra *faz* guiava 499
Las *fazes* fueron bueltas 511
Fueron contra los moros las *hazes* byen paradas 552

The *Estoria Godos* shows the three forms:

ouieron de quebrantar la *haz* del rey Rodrigo p. 53
El rey moro — mudó sus tiendas et sus *façes* p. 156
la primera *az* p. 157
las *fazes* de Castiella p. 158

The *Prim. Crón. Gral.* shows:

ordeno el Conde Fernand Gonçalez sus *azes* p. 127
E faz de todo to pueblo III *azes* p. 129
ronpiendo las *fazes* p. 773

Other texts show:

las *haces* paradas Castig. 110a
todas siete (sc. las cabeças) en *haz* Siete Inf. 318
pusieron sus *hazes* encima de la cava Cron. Alf XI 244
sus *hazes* cerca de la villa Cron. Alf XI 284
Et el rey ordeno sus *hazes* Cron. Alf XI 608

The *Libro de la Guerra* (MS.XV cent.) shows only the *h*-forms:

e destas cinco coortes se pone la primera *haz* p. 512
la primera *haz* auia cinco centuriones p. 514
en la quinta *haz* se pongan los que lançan piedras p. 521

ronper el *haz* de los enemigos p. 522

Only the *h*-forms occur after the end of the fifteenth century. *Haz* is the only form known to Covarrubias, *Tesoro,* 1611.

Henchir<*implēre*) *enchir* *fenchir*

Of these ancient forms only *henchir* has come down to modern times. Only *henchir* is known to Valdés (*Diál.* 1534, p. 385) and to Covarrubias, *Tesoro,* 1611. The forms *enchir fenchir* disappear at the end of the fifteenth century when *h* replaces *f* in the written language. The inorganic *h* of *henchir* may show the influence of the *h* of *hartar*<*fartus* (p. p. of *farcīre*)+*āre* especially since the two words are of kindred meaning.

In the following examples, the citations are brief because the question of the aspiration is involved:

Yncamos las (sc. las archas) darena Cid 86
(*Yncamos* for *inchamos* from *impleamos*)

e *enchirlas* de arena Cron. 523b.41
fizo *enchir* toda la uega Cron. 574b.3
otrossi *finchie* — Cron. 137a.53
que fiziesse *fenchir* Cron. 183b.55
finchien de uiuas brasas Sac. 86
que se *finchie* del fumo Sac. 86
Fynchianle (sc. el rey) las carreras de ramos e de flores Alex 2498
non se *fenchir* de comer BOro 129
e *finchen* sus vientres BOro 170
fisolas *fenchir* de lenna BOro 292
e *fenchir* los valles BOro 352
finchelo de sangre Siete Inf. 335
fincheron dello (sc. el trigo) su nido Calila 63b
(sc. el trigo) crecio, e *finchose* el nido Calila 64a
a *fenchir* los vientres Castig. 225a
fenchira a todos Corbacho 51
enchirian toda la tierra Ottas 399
et *enchirse* de agua Ottas 456
e *fenchistes* el arca Danza 19
mando el rrey *fenchir* de agua Lucanor 139
fizola (sc. la albuhera) *fenchir* de açucar Lucanor 139
ha sabor de *fenchir* el libro Lucanor 258
e *finchyendole* la boca Filib. 58
se *fincheron* de — Caza 83

The following citations are from the *Estoria de los quatro Dotores* (MS. XV cent.):

e *finchiras* la tu — 16.30
e *enchid* la tierra 142.16

enchimos el seno 143.12
las bodas *inchen* la tierra 161.21
e que *incha* aqui el vientre 184.22
Yo *incho* el çielo 195.21
las cosas que *inches* 195.24
inches todas las cosas 196.1
Ahe el gran mar, *enchido* en otro tienpo 291.22
incho todas las lanparas 358.26

The following citations are from *Josaphat* (MS. XV cent.):

inchir el su vientre 347
que *fincheras* la su alma 358
e *finchiense* los sus ojos 359
finchiase de tristeza 360
e *hinche* toda animalia — 392

Henchir is the only form that survives after the end of the fifteenth century.

Hinchar<*inflāre*) *inchar* *finchar*

Of these ancient forms only *hinchar* has come down to modern times. *Hinchar* is the only form known to this investigation after the end of the fifteenth century. It is the only form known to Covarrubias, *Tesoro,* 1611. The *h* in *hinchar* may be due to onomatopoeia. The French has such an *h* (cf. Nyrop. I, 484):

> Rappelons aussi les verbes: *haleter* (pour *aleter,* proprement battre de l'aile, *ala*), *hennir* (hinnire), *hôler, houper, hucher* (dér. de huc), *huer, hurler* (ululare).

The examples follow:

los otros comien tanto — et *finchauan* — Cron. 134b.18
finchanse e fácense presuntuosos Castig. 183a
(el cuero) estaba *finchado* Calila 22b
el *fynchado* albogon J. Ruiz 1233
Macayre, el falso, todo *ynchado* Ottas 463
e plaga *inchada* Biblias Cast. 392
Holia muy mal, ca estaua *fynchado* Rev. 63.2

The following cases are cited from the *Estoria de los quatro Dotores*:

no es *inchado* en soberuia 145.21
La espuma que se *incha* 151.30
con la boca *inchada* 163.6
dize palabras *inchadas* 174.26
la cara mucho *inchada* 224.16
sobresto *inchaua* me 228.6

Toward the end of the fifteenth century *hinchar* is noted for the first time:

No me *hinches* las narizes con essas memorias Celestina 151.

Hinojos *ynojos* (*inojos*) *finojos*

These forms are derived from *genuculos* for *geniculos*. *Hinojos* has an *h* not justified by its etymology, for the *g* of the V. L. disappeared before unaccented vowels: e. g. *ermano* < *germanu*. The *h* of the mod. *hermano* was never pronounced. In O. Sp. texts we never find *fermano*.

What influence led to the aspiration of the *i* of *inojos?* The expressions: *inojos fitos, inojos fincados* 'bended knees', are of common occurrence. It may be that the *h* of *hinojos* is due to anticipation of the aspirated *f* in *fitos* and *fincados* e. g. (*h*) *inojos hitos,* (*h*) *inojos hincados.*

Of the forms in question *hinojos* and *inojos* are of very frequent occurrence in the ancient texts. *Finojos* occurs less often. It is unknown to this investigation after the end of the fifteenth century. It is unknown to Covarrubias, *Tesoro,* 1611. In the sixteenth century *hinojos* and *inojos* stand side by side in the literature. The *Amadis de Gaula* (ed. 1519) shows:

finco los *ynojos* IV. fo. 231

The *Hist. de Abad Juan* (printed in Valladolid 1562) shows:

hincó los *inojos* p. 30
hincó los *inojos* en tierra pp. 38.53
que hincassen los *hinojos* p. 53

The *h* of *hinojos* had phonetic value in the sixteenth century according to Valdés[7] (*Diál.* 387):

> Y otros la quitan, digo la *h,* de donde está bien, diziendo *ostigar, inojos, uerfano, uesped, ueste,* etc. por *hostigar, hinojos, huerfano, huesped,* y haziendo esto caen en dos inconvenientes: el uno es que

[7] Cuervo (*Rom.* XXIV, 263) vouches for the testimony of Valdés: "Valdés, que como nadie ha tenido el instinto del buen lenguaje, distinguiendo lo permanente de lo pasajero y adivinando en cierto modo el uso moderno —"

defraudan los vocablos de las letras que les pertenecen, y el otro que apenas se pueden pronunciar los vocablos de la manera que ellos los escriven.

In modern Spanish *rodillas*[8] has supplanted *hinojos* but the phrase *de hinojos* 'on the knees' still lives. The ancient *inojos* seems to have functioned in the written language long after the period with which this study is concerned. It is recorded by Covarrubias, *Tesoro,* 1611, and by Salvá in his *Nueva Dicc. de la Leng. Cast (por la Acad. Esp.)* 1847, and later in the edition of 1879: *"Inoyo* m. ant. Rodilla etc." It is not recorded in the *Dicc. de la Leng. Cast (por la R. Acad. Esp.)* 14th ed. 1914:

Finco los *yñoios* Cid. 53
Los *ynoios* e las manos Cid 2021
Hynoios fitos Cid 2030.2039
Fynco los sus *fynojos* FnGz. 391
Los *finojos* fincados FnGz. 550
Entró *ynojos* fitos SMill. 187
los *ynoios* fincados SMill. 274
Fincaron los *ynoios* SMill. 440
los *ynojos* fincados Loor 68
fincar los *inoios* Mil. 489
Abrassó los *enoios* Mil. 655
fincaron los *ynoios* SDom. 543
los *ynoios* fincando SDom. 610
fincaron los *ynoios* Reyes de Or 319a
sobre los mios *inoios* Cron. 43b.27

[8] *Rodillas* was known to the ancients: tu ruegas fincada tu *rodiella* Mil 166; finco la *rodilla,* SIldefonso 328a.

fincaron todos los *inoios* Cron. 154a.30
los *ynoios* siniestros Cron. 192a.19
finco los *ynoios* Cron. 400.b9
los *ynoios* fincados Cron. 426b.12
los *ynoios* fitos Cron. 487a.52
finco los *ynoios* Cron. 512a.35
fincaron los *inoios* Cron. 594b.31
finco los *inoios* Cron. 600b.24
fincaron los *inoios* Cron. 627b.33
los *inoios* fincados Cron. 636a.12
los *ynoios* fincados Astron. I. 64
fincan los *hinojos* Part. 61
fincar los *hinojos* Part. 85.104.107
fincasen los *hinojos* Part. 91
finco los *ynojos* Cron. Rim. 405.492
anbos en *inojos* Plac. 132
fincar los *hinojos* Cron. Alf. XI. 189
finco los *inojos* Cron. Alf. XI. 483
los *finojos* fincados Castig. 94a
el *hinojo* fincado Castig. 111b
fincó los *hinojos* Castig. 127a.131a
fincaba los *hinojos* Castig. 130b
los *hinojos* fincados Castig. 133b
sobre los *hinojos* Calila 18a
finco los *finojos* Cron. 98.102.250
fincaron los *finojos* Cron. Cid 274.283.320
el arzobispo de *inojos* Ildef. 329a
fincaua los *ynojos* Siete Inf. 295
finco los *hinojos* Siete Inf. 332
todos *finojos* sean humillados DRetrib. 25

se finco de *hinojos* DRetrib. 34
el *ynojo* fyncado J. Ruiz 1096
a manos juntas en *inojos* Carlos 369
finco los *hynojos* Lucanor 133
fincados los *hinojos* Dotrinas 268
finco los *ynojos* Engaños 32.36.48
fasta los *ynojos* Josaphat 357
puestos los *ynojos* Josaphat 389
sobre sus *inojos* Guilleme 184.185
fincó los *inojos* Guilleme 207
hincaron los *hinojos* Conq. Ultr. 12a
fincó los *hinojos* Conq. Ultr. 20a.30a
hincó los *hinojos* Abad Juan 53

II. The "He" of "He Aquí"

He E Ahe Hahe Hae Fe Afe

Of the eight ancient forms cited here only *he* appears in the written language of the present day. These variant spellings represent equally ancient and different pronunciations which existed side by side in ancient Spain from remote times. This view of the situation is reasonable. Modern Spain presents so many varying features of pronunciation that it has been said that there is no *Spanish* language. May we not understand the same for ancient Spain which from the remotest ages was the battle-ground of races, religions and languages most diverse? In some parts of ancient Spain there doubtless existed for small contiguous communities several pronunciations of the mod.

he.[1] This was especially true when the primitive Castile (N. Burgos) with the *h* in her native speech began to expand territorially. From about the latter half of the ninth century on, the regions of the *h* and the *f* were constantly changing.[2] The varying degrees of aspiration are well reflected in a single document of the thirteenth century (*Estoria Godos*) which shows five of the forms cited above (cf. p. 122): *ahe, hahe, e, hae, he.* The *h* of *ahe* and *he* was pronounced, for we find it duplicated by *f* in other texts. The initial *h* of *hahe* and *hae* may have been pronounced even though we cannot duplicate it with *f*. Phonetically *he. e. fe,* etc. from the Arabic ḥe[3] have a history similar to that of *hata, ata, fata* from the Arabic *ḥatta* (studied ch. II). *He, e, fe,* were not presented by the side of *hata, ata, fata,* because they do not occur in the localized documents used to determine the original domain of the *h* and that of the *f*. While *he, e, fe,* etc. are equally ancient, it happens that *he* is the earliest documentary form[4] of the series in question:

Rei, qque te plaze? *he* nos uenidos Auto 127

There is evidence that this early case of *he* originated

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[1] Similar conditions prevail today. Cf. M. Pidal (*El Dialecto Leonés,* p. 156): "las vecinas aldeas de Alea y Linares; en Alea se dice *fesoria, fachu, faba, fuente,* y en Linares *josoria, jachu, jierro,* etc."

[2] See *Doc. Ling.* p. 5. The first step taken by the Castilians to the south of the primitive Castile was in the year 884.

[3] M. Pidal (*G. del Cid,* 686) cites as the origin of *he* an Arabic form he.

[4] The *he* of the *Auto* is the earliest case cited by M. Pidal (op. cit. 174). It is the earliest case known to Pietsch (*Mod. Phil.* II, 197) "The Sp. Particle *He*".

in northern Burgos which was the domain of the primitive Castile and the region of the *h*. Menéndez Pidal[5] claims that the script of the *Auto Magos* is like that of a document of Oña (N. Burgos) dated 1144 and like that of a document of Campó (Santander) dated 1178. Both these regions have been shown to be *h*-territory (see p. 35). Furthermore, the *Auto* shows: *hata in occidente* 26 and: *ata que io lo ueo* 116. *Hata* occurs in the variants of a document of Briviesca (N. Burgos) dated 1230: *hata que, hata,* Doc. Ling. p. 82. These two cases of *hata* for northern Burgos are the only ones found in a collection of over three hundred documents which show for the central and southern regions only *fata* and *fasta* (cf. p. 65). In view of this evidence it seems safe to conclude that the *Auto* originated in or near the domain of the primitive Castile and that *he* existed from early times as the particular property of that northern speech which was later called Castilian. With the triumph of the Castilian dialect and the *h* at the end of the fifteenth century, *he* triumphed and came down to modern times while the other variant forms disappeared.[6]

The origin of the mod. *he* was for a long time a subject

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[5] Cf. *G. del Cid,* p. 144. "La letra del Auto lo mismo se parece a la del año 1205 del AH San Clemente de Toledo, que a la del año 1144 del AH Oña 19P (con pluma menos tosca y renglones más esparciados que el Auto, pero muy análoga) o a la del año 1178 del AH Aguilar de Campóo 11 P, o a la de 1183 de AH Aguilar de Campóo 14 P (parecido al Auto, sobre todo en la *g* y la *t*)".

[6] Pietsch (*Mod. Phil.* II, 215) cites a few cases of *e* after the end of the XV century: *Eme aquí, santa visión* Autos II, 287, 253. *ê aquí mis dos reales,* Quix. II, 25.

of debate among scholars. Diez saw the Lat. *vide*>*ve* at the base of *he*. His theory was: *he*<*fe*<*ve*. The semasiological side of this etymology is unimpeachable and for a time *ve* was the generally accepted etymology of *he*. Gradually, however, *ve* began to be doubted when some of the O. Sp. cases of initial *f*<*v* offered by Diez (*Gram.* 236) had been eliminated.[7] In an attempt to explain the origin of *he*, Ascoli connected the *afe* of the *Cid* with *ad fidem*. His view of the situation was: *he*<*fe*< *afe*<*ad fidem*. According to Ascoli,[8] the original meaning of *he* = (*ecce*) was *i 'faith*. Pietsch[9] showed weak points in Ascoli's etymology. He pointed out that *afe* (*a fe*) = *i 'faith* is never followed by a pronoun or noun in the acc., that it is never accompanied by an ethical dative of a pronoun of the 2nd pers. while the *afe* = (*ecce*) of the *Cid* has all these constructions. Ascoli's etymology was shown to be a mere exclamative like the Fr. *ma foi*, having no syntactical connection with the rest of the sentence.

Bello[10] saw the Lat. *habete* at the base of the mod. *he*. He was led to connect *he* with *habete* because he found *afe* and *fe* used to address a plurality or the reverential *vos* and never used to address the person *tu*[11] for whom *evas*[12]<*habeas* was used. Bello's view of the situation

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[7] Cf. Ascoli, *Arch. Glott.* III, 462; also Pietsch (op. cit. 198).

[8] See *Arch. Glott.*, X, 7n.

[9] See op. cit. p. 199.

[10] Cf. his ed. of the *Cid* p. 350.

[11] *Fe* was used to address the person *tu*: *fe me aquí presto; non temas*, J. Ruiz, 1458. Bello seems to have taken into account only the *fe* and *afe* of the *Cid*.

[12] *Evas* was used to address the person *tu*: *Evas aquí las*

was: *he*<*fe*<*afe*<*habete*. This etymology by Bello was modified and advocated by Ford[13] who confined his study chiefly to the forms *fe* and *afe* as they occur in the *Cid*.

Pietsch (op. cit. pp. 201.210) objected to *habete* as the origin of *he* on the ground that in the colloquial speech in which *he* must have originated we address the person *tu* far oftener than a plurality. He pointed out that original imperatives similar in function to *he* have been restricted to the singular: i. e. Fr. *voici*,[14] Lat. *em*[15] in phrases like *em tibi*, 'take that', 'there's for you'! (in giving a blow). After clearing the deck of all the other etymologies which he regarded as unsatisfactory, Pietsch took a stand for the Lat. *habe* as the origin of *he*. He started from a situation like this:

A. *Dame el espada*
B. *Hela*

Hela=="have it, take it, see it there, there it is." To support the semasiological side of his etymology he cited a number of analoga, imperatives or subjunctives of verbs signifying "to have, to hold, to take," e. g. Fr. *tiens*, Sp. *toma* etc., which he regarded as having developed the meaning of *he*=*ecce*.

Menéndez Pidal (*G. del Cid*, 686) objects to Pietsch's

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paryas FnGz 48; *Euas que tos discipios fazen*=Ecce discipli tui faciunt, Biblia, Scio, Math. 12.2.

[13] See *Mod. Phil.* I, pp. 49-53; also O. Sp. R. 108-109.

[14] If *voi* is felt to be a verb-form at all, it is felt as being in the sing., yet it is used to address *tu*, *vous* plu. *vous* reverential, etc.

[15] Cf. Lindsay (p. 617): "Em ... seems to be the imperative of *emo*, lit. 'take', etc.

etymology on the ground that his imperatives from verbs signifying "to have, to hold, to take etc.," have not developed the value of *he*=*ecce* to the extent that they are used with plural pronouns: e. g. *afevoslo* (cf. *Cid*, 152). In the same place he presents for *he* an Arabic ḥe which he claims explains the Sp. *he* in sense, syntax, and form. Menéndez-Pidal's etymology seems to be accepted generally. This investigation aims neither to support it nor to overthrow it. This investigation does, however, designate a domain of the *h* in northern Spain in which the Arabic ḥe or any foreign aspirate could exist as *h* from the time it first entered Spain (cf. p. 67). We connect the early case of *he* in the *Auto Magos* (cf. p. 132) with the Arabic ḥe and say that the development is: Sp. *he*<Ar. ḥe. We are not compelled to believe with Diez, Ascoli, Bello and Ford that *h* most be later than *f*, that *he* developed from *fe*. We can regard *he* as a primary form, existing side by side with *fe* from remote times. This view of the situation is supported by the evidence of the documents which show *he* even earlier than *fe*:

he nos uenidos Auto (XII cent.) 127
E aqui la reyna, de esto sei segura SOria 128

The Eslonza shows for the year 1261:

He que esto non uenga en dubda p. 249

The *Canticum* (XIII cent. speech. MS XIV cent.) shows *he* translating *ecce* and *en*:

he que este viene ch.2.8
(Vulg. ecce iste venit)

he que el esta tras nvestra paret ch.2.9
(Vulg. En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum)

He el mio amigo que me fabla ch.2.10
(Vulg. En, dilectus meus loquitur mihi)

The Alex. shows:

*he*uos los apellidos que era Alixandre — 1118

The *Estoria Godos* was written about the year 1243. The MS. dates from the last third of the thirteenth century. It shows:

Ahé que don Hérculos p. 10
Ahé toda tierra p. 11
Hahéuos con toda essa companna p. 39
Ahéuos don Paulo p. 42
Eues (n. Euos) Flauio Egica p. 47
Haéuos el regno p. 48
Ahé Espanna — tornado (n. tornada) p. 51
Ahé Toledo non fue destruida p. 63
he-uos-los sennores de toda España p. 133

The *Prim. Crón. Gral.* dates from 1289. It shows:

Ahe que yo cuedo cuedados de paz 489b
Ahelos aqui o vienen 573b
Et *fe*los aqui do uienen sobre mi Cron. 400b

The earliest case of *fe* known to me is for 1289 (*Cron.* 400b). The earliest case of *fe* cited by *Pietsch* (*Mod. Phil.* II, 201) is for the *Cid* (MS. early XIV cent.). Certainly there is no ground for regarding *fe* as earlier than *he*. The

ground on which Diez, Ascoli, Bello and Ford stood for *he*<*fe* was *hacer*<*facere*. These scholars were unaware that in the domain of the Castilian the Iberian *h* existed and occupied important territory, that *h* did not have to be later than *f* in words that did not have the *f* in the original. The primitive domain of the *h* and the early cases of *he* in the texts constitute substantial evidence that *he* as well as *fe* is original, that *he* and *fe* functioned side by side in the speech of their respective regions from remote antiquity.

Fe occurs about as many times in the *Cid* as in all the other texts put together and *afe* is almost limited to the *Cid* (see p. 139). This state of affairs led Pietsch to regard *he* and *fe* as belonging to different dialects. He erred when he located the MS. of the *Cid* in the Asturias.[16] The MS. of the *Cid* originated in Soria which by a comparison of the spellings of the *Cid* with those of the *Documentos Lingüísticos* was shown to be *f*-territory until after the end of the thirteenth century (cf. p. 59). *Fe* and *afe* are, therefore, natural and legitimate forms for the *Cid*. *Fe* and *afe* (cf. *fata fasta* p. 65) are natives of the central and southern regions. *He* and *ahe* (cf. *hata hasta* p. 67) are natives of the north, contiguous to the domain of the

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[16] To explain the *f* of *afe* and *fe*, Pietsch claimed that the dialect of the *Cid* is Asturian. The Asturian has preserved the *f*. M. Pidal (*G. del Cid* p. 36) controverts the theories of Pietsch and Cornu that the *Cid* is Asturian and (*ibid*, p. 73) localizes the MS. of the *Cid* in the province of Soria in the southeast of Old Castille. This region I have shown to be *f*-territory until after the end of the thirteenth century (cf. p. 59). It was, therefore, unnecessary to place the MS. of the *Cid* in the Asturias in order to be able to explain the *f*-forms.

Iberian-Basque and therefore *h*-territory. As representatives of the great central regions we present from the *Cid* *fe* and *afe*:

*Fe*m ante uos 269
*Fe*llos en Casteion 485
*Fe*uos aqui las señas 1335
*Fe*los en Medina 1452
*Fe*los en Molina 2647
*Fe*los al plazo los del Campeador 3534
*Fe*uos del otra part los yfantes 3591
*Fe*los en Valençia 3701

*Afe*uos los ala tienda 152
*Afe*uos doña Ximena 262
*Afe*uos los cc. 111 enel algara 476
*afe*lo en uuestra mano 505
*Afe*uos todo aquesto 1255
Afe Minaya Albarfanez 1317
*Afe*uos Rachel e Vidas 1431
*Afe*uos aqui Pero Vermuez 1499
*Afe*uos todos a questos 1568
Afe Dios del çiello 1942
*Afe*llas en nuestra mano 2088
*Afe*llos en uuestras manos 2101
Afe aqui Albarfanez 2135
señor, *afe* que me plaz 2140
Afe Dios del çielo 2155
*Afe*los en Valençia 2175
Affe amas mis fijas 2222
*Afe*uos delant Minaya — 2230

*Afe*uos el obispo 2368
Afe los moros a oio 2381
Affe Dios delos çielos 2855
*Afe*las sus fijas 2947
Affe dos caualleros 3393
Afe mis fijas 3407

The *Cid* is preeminently the text of the *f*-forms. Nine cases of *fe* and four cases of *afe* are noted for other texts cited below. The latest case of *fe* occurs in *Corvacho* 1438.MS.1466.

The original *fe* and *afe* of the central regions became *he* and *ahe* in the fourteenth century when the Iberian use of *h* for *f* spread to these regions (see p. 77) writes: *ahe* 1089.2; *he* 1502.2; *fe* 1331.4.1458.3. *He* and *ahe* are the usual forms for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:

*Afe*los alli don jaz gafo Reyes de Or 320b
*fe*los aqui do uienen Cron. 400b
*fe*lo ado esta oy apremiado Boc. Oro 302
*Fe*uos aqui mio tresoro SMEgipic. 310
*Afe*uos María en el camino SMEgipic. 312a
fe aqui huna doliosa SMEgipic. 315a
ahe que encubres tus canas con tintura Buenos Prov. 59
hé aquí el logar do le posieron Castig. 149a
(Vulg. Marc. 16.6. Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum)

Tullio dice: "*Hé* aquí el dolor" Castig. 172a
*hae*vos aqui los poderes del rey Cron. Rim. 2
*Ahe*vos aqui su previllejo Cron. Rim. 172

ahe vos ado viene muy lygero el cieruo J. Ruiz 1089.2
fe aque buen amor — J. Ruiz 1331.4
fe me aqui presto J. Ruiz 1458.3
hela (sc. la dueña) J. Ruiz 1502.2

Hé aquí la sierva de nuestro Señor Dios J. Manuel 299a (Vulg. Luc. 1.38. Ecce, ancilla Domini)

ahe aquí vn cieruo grande Plac. 125
*afe*vos acqui un fijo Cron. (1344) 301
*afe*vos aqui viene don Mudarra Cron. (1344) 306
*afe*lo en vuestras manos Cron. (1344) 312
*hae*vos las bestias Gatos 551a
ahe-vos las bestias Gatos 552a
ahe que medidos posyste los mis dias Corvacho 241
*fe*uos aquí donde viene Corvacho 285
*fé*me presta para — Corvacho 302
ahe, doña loca engrosada, que — Corvacho 306
*he*os and aquí a Ancelin Conq. Ultr. 56a
he aqui los de Sajona Conq. Ultr. 78a
ahé aquel enano que entró Carlos. 345
ahé el rey do viene Carlos 364
ahé aquí do vienen los infantes Ottas 403
ahé aquí do vien Eleame Ottas 409
ahé aquí o viene el enperador Ottas 412
ahé aqui do viene Ottas 419
ahé aquí Agrauayn Ottas 424
*ahe*uos aquí do viene Ottas 434
ahe aquí á Macayre Ottas 445
ahé aquí Macayre Ottas 447

J. Encina (XV cent.):

*Hé*la (sc. nuestrama), está muy reluciente 1
*hé*telo aquí cada día 69
Pues me acusas *hé*me aquí 76
*Hé*te viene un escudero 91
*he*lo va por aquel cerro 101
*He*nos acquí donde antaño 113
*He*me aquí, Placida, 353

Celestina (MS. 1499):

*He*la aqui (sc. vna tajada de diacitrón), señor 106
*He*las aqui (sc. las coraças), señor 136

In the following texts which are XV century translations from the Latin,[17], *ahe* is the usual form. At the base of *ahe* we find generally *ecce,* sometimes *ei, en,* and *heu.*

Estoria Dotores (XVcent.):
ca *ahe* la tu misericordia es — 197.12
(quoniam ecce misericordia tua est Aug. I. p. 12)
ahe non ay ninguna semejança 205.17
(ecce species nulla est Aug. I. p. 84)

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[17] The Latin base of the *Estoria Dotores* and *Josaphat* is found in the *Speculum Historiale* (XIII cent.) by Vincent de Beauvais. In his edition of the *Estoria* F. Lauchert cites the corresponding chapters of the *Speculum* (cf. footnotes). The print of the *Speculum* available was the Strasbourg ed. 1473. In order to be able to print from an easily readable Latin text I have followed other references of Lauchert. For the *Estoria Dotores* I cite the *Augustini Confessiones* ed. by Loeb and the Latin text presented by W. Foester in his ed. of *Li Dialoge Gregoire lo Pape,* Halle, 1876. For *Josaphat* I cite the *Patrologiae Latinae* by Migne, Vol. LXXIII.

ca *ahe,* estas cosas se parten 215.17
(ecce illa discedunt Aug. I. p. 176)

Ahe, y esta, do sabe la verdad 216.20
(ecce ubi est, ubi sapit veritas Aug. I. p. 180)

Ahe do yaze el alma enferma 218.14
(ecce ubi jacet anima infirma Aug. I. p. 188)

ahe y eres en el coraçon de aquellos 220.2
(ecce ibi es in corde eorum Aug. I. p. 208)

E *ahe,* presente eres 223.12
(et ecce ades Aug. I. p. 328)

Ahe a mi, que alto eres 231.1
(ei mihi, quam excelsus es Aug. I. p. 418)

ahe do nos enboluemos en carne e en sangre 232.26
(ecce ubi volutamur in carne e sanguine Aug. I. p. 442)

ahe, agora se fara, *ahe* agora 233.16
(ecce modo fiat, modo fiat Aug. I. p. 456)

Ahe, ameste la verdat 238.13
(ecce enim veritatem dilexisti Aug. II. p. 74)

E *ahe,* tu eras dentro 247.15
(et ecce intus eras Aug. II. p. 146)

Ahe mi, señor, aue merçed de mi! 248.1
(ei mihi! domine, miserere mei! Aug. II. p. 148)

Ahe, o uerdat, en ti veo — 259.24
(ecce in te, veritas video — Aug. II. p. 190)

ahe puse las mis palabras en la tu boca 358.7
(Ecce posui uerba mea in ore tuo Greg. p. 20.7)

ahe has los sueldos 361.24
(Ecce habes solidos (Greg. p. 38.18)

ca *ahe,* las gallinas — 362.24
(Ecce enim gallinas — Greg. p. 40.20)

o *ahe,* que fizo — 364.6
(ecce quid fecit! Greg. p. 43.11)

ahe vo a los frayres 371.28
(Ecce ad fratres uado Greg. p. 96.5)

ahe rroguete, e non me quisiste oyr 373.27
(Ecce te rogavi, et audire me noluisti Greg. p. 101.16)

ahe vengo, *ahe* vengo 397.28
(Ecce uenio, ecce uenio Greg. 208.14)

ahe el dragon 410.6
(ecce draco — Greg. p. 251.17)

ahe, commo estudiese en medio el mar 421.25
(ecce in eodem medio mari me posito Greg. p. 278.12)

Josaphat (XV cent):

ahe yo aparajado so 338
(en adsum, paratus Patr. p. 445)

ahe rreprehendiendo la tu non sabiduria — 343
(En igitur ut tuam dementiam — Patr. p. 463)

ca *ahe* luego que tome estas palabras 345
(Ecce enim ut haec verba — Patr. p. 469)

ahe a mi, que primeramente llanteare 350
(Heu me miserum, quidnam prius deflebo—Patr. p. 495)

ca *ahe* quanto tienpo — 355
(Ecce enim quantum jam temporis — Patr. p. 509)

ahe manifiesta cosa es 381
(En illud perspicuum est Patr. p. 572)

ahe commo vedes el rrey Anemur 387
(En, ut ipsi cernitis, Abenner Rex Patr. p. 586)

ahe, hermano, mando 389
(En tibi, frater — Patr. p. 588)

Biblia Alba[18] (1422-33):

ahe que la virgen concebira Is. 7.14 (p. 25)
(Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet)

ahe que vos yo di toda herua Gen. 1.29 (p. 39)
(Vulg. Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam)

ahe que tu fermosa eres Cant. 1.15 (p. 43)
(Vulg. Ecce, tu pulchra es)

ahe que la su cama de salamon Cant. 3.7 (p. 44)
(Vulg. En, lectulum Salomonis)

ahe que entendera el mio siervo Is. 52.13 (p. 49)
(Vulg. Ecce, intelliget servus meus)

Bibles Castillanes[19] (XV cent.):

(Samuel) recudio: *Hem* aqui I. Rois. ch. 3 (p. 387)
(Vulg. Ecce ego)

Hem aqui, car me clamest I. Rois. ch. 3 (p. 387)
(Vulg. Ecce Ego —)

ahe el varon que — PS. 51.9 (p. 389)
(Vulg. Ecce homo qui —)

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[18] Cf. Paz y Melia, *La Biblia puesta en romance por Rabi Mosé Arragel de Guadalfajara* (1422-33). In *Homenaje á* Menéndez y Pelayo, Vol. II, 1889, pp. 5.ff.

[19] The Castilian Bibles have been studied by Samuel Berger. See *Romania* XXVIII, pp. 360-408, also *ibid*, pp. 508-542.

He que concibra una virgen Is. 7.14 (p. 393)
(Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet)

Ahe el vuestro Dios! Is. 40.9 (p. 535n)
(Vulg. Ecce Deus vester)

No trace of *ahe, haha, hae, ae,* is found after the end of the fifteenth century. We mentioned that *fe* was not found later than *Corvacho* (1466). Of all the forms in question *he* is the earliest documentary form (cf. p. 132) and the only survival from the beginning of the sixteenth century on. *Ahe* had gone out of use before the time of Valdés (1534). He says (*Diál.* 382): "Ahe, que quiere dezir *ecce,* ya no se usa, no sé porque lo avemos dexado, especialmente no teniendo otro que signifique lo que el." Evidently Valdés did not regard *he* as the equivalent of *ahe.* As a short-form, *he* belonged essentially to colloquial language. This view is supported by another statement of Valdés (*Diál.* 385): "Muchos dizen he aqui por veis aqui, yo no lo digo."

It may be that *ahe afe* was regarded as a more formal style of address than *he* during the Middle Ages. At any rate, *ahe*-and not *he*-is the usual form for translating the Latin *ecce* and besides we note that in the *Cid,* a work of higher style, *afe* occurs twenty-four times as over against *fe* eight times. Covarrubias (*Tesoro* 1611. s. v. *He*) describes *he* as a vulgarism:

> *He,* palabra barbara zafia, he aqui, veis aqui; s. v. *Hele*: Hele adverbio demostrativo, *Ecce illum.* Dize el Romance viejo.
>
> Hele, hele por do viene
> El moro por la calzada

El adverbio es he, y assi dezimos: Hele aqui. Heos aqui, y hele alli. Por otro termino no menos barbaro se dize: Heos me aqui, donde viene fulano.

He is common in the XVI century:

Gil Vincente (1470?-1539?):

He nos aqui leventados 47
*Hé*me aqui en otra muerte 89

Primavera (composed in XV and XVI cent.):

*Hé*los, *hé*los (sc. los siete infantes de Lara) I. 62
*Hé*lo, *hé*lo, por do viene I. 175

Lucas Fernandez (*Farsas e Églogas* 1514):

He aquí yesca y pedrenal 179

Torres Naharro (MS. 1517):

con mi hato y garbato
*He*m' acá I. 272
*He*lo allá (sc. el Escolar) II. 161
*He*la abaxo (sc. la prima) y *he*la encima
*He*la acá y *he*la acullá II. 196
*He*la aqui sale cubierta
La señora II. 197

Josefina (MS. 1535):

hé aquí una senda 25
Hé allí á Judas 29
Hévos aquí el soñador 29
Héle aquí sin más bullicio

Hé aquí traigo cuchillo 50
Héla (sc. mi señora) aquí sale, señor 90
hé aquí al desdichado 108

Lazarillo (Before 1550):

*he*los do bueluen luego con ellos 51

Lope de Rueda (MS.1567):

*Hé*las ahí (sc. las manos) I. 85
*Hé*la (sc. la espada) I. 139
Jesús ¡*hé*me aquí II. 95
*hé*me aquí II. 177
*Hé*la, *hé*la (sc. Lelia), señor II. 200

Colecc. Autos (2nd half of XVI cent.):
He aqui el sueño y la soltura I. 265.406
He aqui el rrefran cunplido III. 397.103

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VITA

James Henry English, born in Armagh, Ulster Province, Ireland, September 10, 1886; in 1890 came with his parents to Warren, Vermont where he received elementary education; prepared for college at Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, N. H.; entered Darmouth College in 1908, received the degree of A. B. in 1912. From 1912-1914 instructor in Latin and French at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.; 1914-1916 instructor in French and German at Rutgers Preparatory School and tutor in Rutgers College; 1916-1918 master in French at the Choate School, Wallingford, Conn.; 1918-1920 master in French at Trinity School, New York City; 1920-1925 instructor in French in Columbia University Extension and graduate student in Romance languages at Columbia; 1923-1926 instructor in Spanish at the Washington Square College of New York University.

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